

**CAROLINE OF ANSBACH:
THE QUEEN, COLLECTING AND
CONNOISSEURSHIP
AT THE EARLY GEORGIAN COURT**

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**Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy**

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ABSTRACT

Queen Caroline (1683-1737), the wife of King George II, remains an enigma to most historians and there has been little lasting perception of the role she played in the promotion of the arts in early Georgian England. This thesis will explore her programme of patronage undertaken first as Princess of Wales and later as Queen Consort and establish that it followed a very distinct pattern.

Four projects sat at the heart of the Queen's programme. The first was the creation of three series of sculptured worthies and heroes, selected principally in celebration of the English royal line, but extending to embrace contemporary scientists and thinkers. The Queen also drew together a collection of paintings in a single location in celebration of 'the English'. The third project was the creation of a 'wunderkammer' filled with artefacts which ranged from the 'unicorns horns' and other components identified with the magic and superstition of the Renaissance cabinet, to items retrieved in enlightened contemporary archaeological excavation. Lastly the Queen compiled what might be considered Britain's first 'universal library'. It was provided with a new and appropriately elegant building in St James's Palace, which may well have been designed to serve as a cultural debating forum.

Taken separately these projects might simply have been seen as an agenda of the Queen's interests and preoccupations. However I suggest in this thesis that they should be considered

together and that they form up into a considerable programme based in Renaissance notions of princely responsibility, which would have been inculcated into Caroline at the culturally resplendent courts of Saxony, Brandenburg and Hanover where she spent her early years.

Adopting a European approach to her artistic patronage, and the aspect of her role as Queen Consort which this represented, brought Queen Caroline adverse as well as positive criticism from the contemporary English community, and particularly within literary and artistic circles. This thesis draws on a substantial quantity of primary source data to explore the Queen's extraordinary achievement and her consistent efforts to draw her schemes in line with the expectations of her new compatriots and particularly those she sought to impress.

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Figure 121 Cameo. Sardonyx set in open gold mount with corded rim, with
a three quarter profile portrait of Henry VIII. Early 18th century.
400x385mm. The Royal Collection. RCIN 65190

Figure 122 James Gibb. Folly arch. c1725. For Sir Jeremy Sambrook.
Gubbins. Hertfordshire

Figure 123 Cameo. Agate in silver gilt mount with a design of the adoration
of the Magi. North Italian. 16th century. 35x65mm. The Royal
Collection. RCIN 65175

Figure 124 Hat Badge. Gold, cornelian, amethyst and rubies with a female
head with elaborate turban in profile to right. French and
English 1550-1560. 48x35mm. The Royal Collection. RCIN
65249

Figure 125 Bust of Hercules. Agate with gilt socle. North Italian. Second
half 16th century. 47x38x30mm. The Royal Collection. RCIN
65740

Figure 126 John Rocque. North front of Richmond Lodge showing library
wing. Detail from *An Exact Plan of the Royal Palace and
Gardens at Richmond*. 1754. BL maps K. Top.41.16.h

Figure 127 Bookcase. Mahogany. c1730-1740. h2650xw1490xd750mm.
The Royal Collection. RCIN 33355

Figure 128 Michael Rysbrack. Queen Caroline. Terracotta. 1739.
h600xw530xd360mm. The Royal Collection. RCIN 1411

Figure 129 Michael Rysbrack. George II. Terracotta. 1738.
h576xw520xd310mm. The Royal Collection. RCIN 1412

- Figure 130** Michael Rysbrack. Queen Caroline. Marble. 1742. No Measurements available. The Royal Collection. RCIN 31317
- Figure 131** Michael Rysbrack. George II. Marble. 1742. h700xw555xd325mm. The Royal Collection. RCIN 31322

CAROLINE OF ANSBACH: THE QUEEN, COLLECTING AND CONOISSEURSHIP AT THE EARLY GEORGIAN COURT

INTRODUCTION

As curator with responsibility for the collections at Kensington Palace I became familiar, as time passed, with the rich repertoire of characters who have called this elegant and intriguing building home. From the monarch and their spouse and generation by generation of royal children, to housekeepers, necessary women and gardeners, there is a rich trail of information about their lives, work, interests and preoccupations. Within the palace, the Queen's Apartments have largely retained the form established by Mary II in 1689, and my concern to get these rooms into better order led to the appointment of Dr Peter Gaunt as a consultant researcher, to make a survey of information sources to supplement the work undertaken by Howard Colvin relating to Kensington Palace in his *History of the Kings Works*.¹

It was during the course of Dr Gaunt's project that it became apparent just how interesting the records relating to the history of the palace in the early 18th century were. For me, Queen Caroline, consort to King George II, began to emerge as a woman of wide ranging interests and extraordinary talent. My initial interest was boosted in 1994 when I was asked to help with research towards the re-presentation of the Queen's Private Apartments at Hampton Court Palace. My particular responsibility was to establish a scheme for a room traditionally called 'Queen Caroline's Bathroom'. The research, which was later published by the Furniture History Society, revealed that the Queen was an enthusiastic participant in contemporary scientific debate, and a keen promoter of innovative medical practice. It was also at this time that I

¹ Colvin, H.M. *The History of the King's Works* 6 vol. London. Her Majesty's Stationery Office. 1963-1982

checked the Queen's Privy Purse accounts within the Royal Archives and discovered that she had left a trail of fascinating bills for her clothing.²

Caroline of Ansbach was born Wilhelmina Charlotte Caroline, the daughter of John Frederick, Margrave of Brandenburg Ansbach (1620-1688) by his second wife Eleonore Ermuthe Louise of Saxe Eisenach (1662-1696) on March 1, 1683. It was a distinguished pedigree. Caroline's father represented the junior branch of the Hohenzollern dynasty, whose main line was the Electors of Brandenburg. Caroline was third cousin to Frederick William (1620-1688) the 'Great Elector'. Caroline's mother was daughter of John George of Saxe Eisenach whose family belong to the 'Ernestine' branch of the Wettin family; the junior 'Albertine' branch being the Electors of Saxony. Following the death of John Frederick in 1686, Eleonore married her distant kinsman John George IV of Saxony. According to George Stepney, the English Envoy to the Brandenburg Court Eleonore initially travelled to Dresden alone leaving Caroline and her younger brother in Berlin with the Elector Frederick III, where they were educated alongside the crown prince, the future Elector Frederick William I. It is evident that Caroline later joined her mother in Dresden and at Bretzen, a traditional Saxon dower house, to which Eleonore retired as the marriage broke down, remaining there until Eleonore died in 1696.³

There is much still to be learnt about the life Eleonore and the young Caroline enjoyed at the Saxon court. Eleonore was described by Baron von Poellnitz as 'a Princess, whose excellent

² Marschner, J.M. 'Baths and Bathing at the Early Georgian Court' *Furniture History*. Vol XXXI. 1995. pp.23-28.
Marschner, J.M. 'Queen Caroline of Ansbach. Attitudes to Clothes and Cleanliness. 1727-1737' *Costume*. No 31. 1997. pp.28-37

³ George Stepney, the English Envoy to the Brandenburg Court was entertained by Caroline and her mother in Dresden on 5th August 1695: SP150/50 cited in Sharp, Tony. *Pleasure and Ambition. Loves and Wars of Augustus the Strong. 1670-1707* London. I.B.Publishing. 2001

accomplishments gain'd a great veneration, and beautiful person the admiration of all who saw her...' ⁴ However her husband John George IV seems to have been indifferent to her charms and achieved notoriety for taking many mistresses. Following the death of her step-father Caroline seems nonetheless to have maintained her links with this Court into her later years, and Augustus the Strong, John George's brother and successor sent her a wheel chair as she became infirm. ⁵ On the death of her mother, thirteen year old Caroline was taken once again under the guardianship of Elector Frederick III of Brandenburg and moved back to Berlin.

It was during her sojourn at the Brandenburg Court that Caroline encountered Leibnitz, Voltaire, Handel and other members of the lively intellectual circle cultivated by the intelligent and dynastically ambitious Electress Sophie-Charlotte, wife of Frederick III and daughter of the Electress Sophia of Hanover. Caroline would accept the marriage proposal made in 1705 by George Augustus, Electoral Prince of Hanover, Sophia's grandson, having in 1703, turned down her first and very flattering proposal from Archduke Charles of Austria, titular King of Spain, on religious grounds. In 1701, the Act of Succession had nominated the formidable Electress Sophia and her issue as heirs to the throne of England. Caroline's status as a Hohenzollern princess and particularly her commitment to Protestantism made her very acceptable in Hanoverian eyes, and by extension those of a British public.

⁴ Poellnitz, Karl Ludwig von. *La Saxe Galant. The Amorous Adventures of Augustus of Saxony* Translated from the French by a gentleman of Oxford. London. George Allan & Unwin. 1929. p.14

⁵ Berlin. Dep. XI. 73 Convolut 54. Reichenbach's dispatch. Windsor Oct 15/26. 1728 cited in Arkell, R.L. *Caroline of Ansbach. George II's Queen* Oxford. Oxford University Press. 1939. p.229: Hervey, John Baron. *Lord Hervey and his Friends. 1720-1736. Based on letters from Holland House, Melbury and Ickworth* Edited by the Earl of Ilchester. London. John Murray. 1950. p.182

At the Hanoverian Court Caroline was again able to pursue her intellectual interests. She enjoyed the company of philosophers, clerics, botanists and historians and continued to research the pedigrees of noble families, her favourite subject, which had been introduced to her by Sophie Charlotte in Berlin. George Augustus and Caroline were delighted in January 1707 when their first child, Frederick Louis was born. Anne followed in 1709, Amelia Sophia Eleanor in 1711 and Caroline Elizabeth in 1713.

In June 1714 the Electress died unexpectedly while walking in her garden at Herrenhausen. Two months later Queen Anne too was dead, and as Anne had no children living it was the Electress's son, George Louis who succeeded to the throne of England, as King George I. In the autumn Caroline and her three little girls joined their father in London, taking up residence in St James's Palace. Frederick, her son, was left back in Hanover. In 1717, George Augustus's always uneasy relationship with his father reached breaking point, and he was banished from St James's Palace, and Caroline followed. George I took custody of his three granddaughters and their little brother, George William, who had been born earlier that month. The death of the baby prince shortly after, while in the King's charge, ensured that Caroline would be allowed to supervise the upbringing of her younger children, William Augustus born in 1721, Mary in 1723 and Louisa in 1724.

In June 1727, George I died at Osnabruck on his way to Hanover. On 11th October George II and Queen Caroline were crowned by Archbishop Wake in Westminster Abbey.

Queen Caroline has received little serious attention from historians. The most comprehensive biographies are by W.H. Wilkins and by Peter Quennell and were published many years ago.⁶ In more recent years, Caroline's entry in the Dictionary of National Biography has been updated by Stephen Taylor, who also wrote in 1998 on the Queen's relationship with the Church of England.⁷ Eugen Schöler's and John van der Kiste's biographies were published in 1988 and 1997 respectively providing very general surveys of the lives of Caroline and her husband.⁸ It has only been in the last few years that more detailed appraisal of some aspects of the Queen's life has been undertaken, and the lives of her family more carefully researched. Judith Colton and Cinzia Sicca have undertaken very useful research into Queen Caroline's building schemes at Kew.⁹ Susan Jenkins published an article discussing the furnishing of the Queen's Apartments at Hampton Court for Queen Caroline which was published in 1996.¹⁰ In 2002, I published in *Queenship in Britain. Royal Patronage, Court Culture and Dynastic Politics* my first essay about the Queen's artistic patronage which I explore in greater depth in this thesis.¹¹ In the same volume Christine Gerrard provided an essay comparing Caroline and Augusta of Saxe-Gotha in their roles as Princesses of Wales.¹² Andrew Hanham's essay 'Caroline and the Anglicisation of the House of Hanover' was published in *Queenship in Europe. 1660-1815. The Role of the*

⁶ Wilkins, W.H. *Caroline the Illustrious* 2 vol. London. Longmans. 1901; Quennell, Peter. *Caroline of England. An Augustan Portrait* London. Collins. 1939

⁷ Taylor, Stephen, Connors, Richard and Jones, Clyve, eds. *Hanoverian Britain and Empire. Essays in memory of Philip Lawson*. London. Boydell Press. 1998

⁸ Schöler, Eugen. *Caroline. Die Englische Königin aus Franken* Triesdorf verein der Freunde. Triesdorf und Ungeburg. 1988; Kiste, John van der. *King George II and Queen Caroline* Stoud. Sutton. 1997

⁹ Colton, Judith. 'Merlin's Cave and Queen Caroline. Garden Art and Political Propaganda' *Eighteenth Century Studies*. Vol X. 1976. pp.1-21; Colton, Judith. 'Kent's Hermitage for Queen Caroline at Kew' *Architectura*. 1972, no.2. pp.181-191; Sicca, C. 'Like a shallow cave by nature made: William Kent's natural architecture at Richmond, *Architectura*. Vol 16. 1986. pp.68-82

¹⁰ Jenkins, S. 'Queen Caroline's taste. The Furnishing and Functioning of the Queen's Private Apartments at Hampton Court Palace' *Apollo*. May 1996. pp.20-24

¹¹ Marschner, J.M. 'Queen Caroline of Anspach and the European Princely Museum Tradition' in Campbell Orr, Clarissa ed. *Queenship in Britain. Royal Patronage, Court Culture and Dynastic Politics* Manchester. Manchester University Press. 2002. pp.130-142

¹² Gerrard, Christine. 'Queens-in Waiting: Caroline of Anspach and Augusta of Saxe Gotha as Princesses of Wales' in Campbell Orr, Clarissa, ed. *Queenship in Britain* op cit. pp.143-161

Consort in 2004.¹³ Emma Jay has recently completed her doctoral thesis which discusses Queen Caroline's collection of books, and concludes with an interesting appraisal of how she was celebrated in contemporary popular literature.¹⁴

Richard King and Veronica P.M. Baker-Smith have in recent years explored the lives and interests of Queen Caroline's daughters, Anne, Princess Royal and her sisters Amelia, Caroline Mary and Louisa, and their research reveals another generation of spirited women.¹⁵ Kimerley Rorschach and the late Frances Vivian have investigated the life of Frederick, Prince of Wales and his role as patron of art, architecture, music and literature.¹⁶

There have been recently a number of exhibitions about women who served as role models for Queen Caroline. The exhibition about Elisabeth-Charlotte, Duchess of Orléans was installed in Heidelberg Castle in 1996-1997, and an exhibition about Sophie-Charlotte of Brandenburg Prussia was held at Charlottenburg Palace in Berlin in 1999.¹⁷ The literature on Caroline's father-in-law, George Louis of Hanover, George I of England has in recent years increased with

¹³ Hanham, Andrew. 'Caroline and the Anglicisation of the House of Hanover' in Campbell Orr, Clarissa, ed. *Queenship in Europe. The Role of the Consort* Cambridge. Cambridge University Press. 2004. pp.276-300

¹⁴ Jay, Emma. *Caroline, Queen Consort of George II and British Literary Culture* Doctoral thesis. Oxford University. 2004

¹⁵ King, Richard, G. 'Anne of Hanover and Orange (1709-59) as patron and practitioner of the arts' in Campbell Orr, Clarissa, ed. *Queenship in Britain* op cit. pp.162-193: Baker-Smith, V. P.M. 'The daughters of George II. marriage and dynastic politics' in Campbell Orr, Clarissa, ed. *Queenship in Britain* op cit. pp.193-207: Baker-Smith, V.P.M. *A Life of Anne of Hanover. Princess Royal* Leiden. E.J. Brill. 1995

¹⁶ Rorschach, Kimerley. *Frederick, Prince of Wales (1707-1751) as a Patron of the Visual Arts. Princely Patronage, Patriotism and Political Propaganda* 2 vol. Doctoral thesis. Yale University. 1985: Rorschach, Kimerley. 'Frederick, Prince of Wales (1707-1751) as Collector and Patron' *Walpole Society*. Vol LIIII. 1989-1990. pp.1-76. I have been privileged to read small sections of the forthcoming biography of Frederick, Prince of Wales prepared by the late Frances Vivian.

¹⁷ Passe, Sigrun, ed. *Lisalotte von der Pfalz. Madame am Hofe des Sonnenkönigs* Exhibition Heidelberg Castle. 21 Sept 1996-26 Jan 1997. Heidelberg GmbH. Universitätsverlag C. Winter. 1996: Bartoschek, G, Biermann, V, etc. *Sophie Charlotte und ihr Schloss. Ein Musenhof des Barock in Brandenburg Preussen*. Munich. Prestel. 1999

new research into his artistic patronage by Barbara Arciszewska and Adam Bowatt to add to the work undertaken by Ragnhild Hatton and John Beattie.¹⁸

Voltaire wrote of Queen Caroline ‘she was born to encourage the whole circle of the arts’ but not withstanding the worthiness of the publications listed above, none has explored the richness and breadth of Queen Caroline’s artistic patronage.¹⁹ This is what I propose to do in this thesis. As I sought information within royal, courtier and state archives to establish just how widely the Queen’s interests extended I discovered inventories, correspondence, financial accounts and artefacts. In considering these together for the first time a complex and fascinating picture emerges of a clever German princess striving to fulfil her new role as Princess of Wales and latterly Queen of England. I quickly discerned there was a distinct pattern within her cultural patronage programmes, and having established this pattern more and more ambiguous references and even artefacts were given new context. Caroline created a picture gallery celebrating her English royal forebears, sculptural programmes to honour both historic and contemporary British heroes, a *wunderkammer* and a universal library. Taken together these elements stand as key components within the European tradition of princely patronage which had its origins in sixteenth century Renaissance philosophy.

While it was not until 1514, that Machievelli in ‘The Prince’ advocated that the enlightened ruler should combine intellectual pursuits with the practicalities of governance, there were several

¹⁸ Arciszewska, Barbara. *The Hanoverian Court and the Triumph of Palladio. The Palladian Revival in Hanover and England c1700* Warsaw. Wydawnictwo DiG. 2002: Arciszewska, Barbara. ‘A Villa fit for a King. The Role of Palladian Architecture in the Ascendancy of the House of Hanover under George I’ in Mandel, C and Bugslag, J, ed. *Arts as Propaganda* RACAR, XIX, 1992, pp.41-112: Bowatt, Adam. ‘George I’s Furniture at Kensington Palace’ *Apollo* Nov 2005. pp.37-46: Hatton, Ragnhild. *George I. Elector and King* London. Thames and Hudson. 1978: Beattie, John. *The English Court in the Reign of George I* Cambridge. Cambridge University Press. 1967

¹⁹ Voltaire, F.M.A. de. *Letters Concerning the English Nation*. With an introduction by Charles Whibley. London. Peter Davies. 1926. p.375

earlier exponents. Jean, Duke of Berry (1340-1416), brother of Charles V of France, had taken a particular pleasure in amassing a collection of art. In its scope this collection extended beyond the jewellery and relics, which one might expect to find in ecclesiastical treasuries of the same period, and embraced antiquities, ethnography, painting, sculpture and curiosities such as 'unicorns horns', 'tongues of serpents' and bezoars. This and other early collections fulfilled many functions; the display of personal power, good taste, and the establishment of self identity. Collecting of art and artefacts became one of the mechanisms to facilitate the transition of natural philosophy from a largely text based culture, difficult to access, except by the most learned, to a more tactile, and theatrical culture appealing to a great many new audiences.

The importance of the 'cabinet' or 'studiolo' in which such collections might be gathered, studied and displayed by the wealthy and enlightened is recognised by Alberti in his ten books of architecture published in 1415. He saw the room standing outside the sets of rooms allocated traditionally to either male or female activity. Sabba Castiglione of Milan, who died in 1554, and was related to Baldessare Castiglione, author of *The Courtier*, composed an etiquette manual *I Ricordi*, written as a series of letters. His *Ricordo 109* is entitled *Circa gli ornamenti della casa*, and describes how within a household, space should be set aside to accommodate a collection of antiquities, painting, prints and sculpture, medals and bronzes.

The 16th century saw the opening of a debate in Europe within academic and literary circles about the definition of the word *Musaeum*. While to ancient authors *musaea* were seats of the muses, or places set apart for debate and contemplation of art, literature and science, in Renaissance Italy as evidenced through written description and visual depiction the *musaeum*

assumed an ideal structure with a particular set of furnishings. The space most frequently took the form of a circular classical temple, the domed roof left open to the sky, as may be seen depicted by Raphael in the Camera della Segnatura, and described by Bartolomeo Delbene in 1585, Friederich Sustris in 1594, and Sir Francis Bacon in 1627.²⁰ The notion of a *Musaeum Memorial* or pantheon of worthies developed in parallel, encouraged by the writings of Alessandro Allori, and Filarete, providing the space with a population.²¹

The sixteenth century also saw a reappraisal of the works of Pliny and Aristotle which led Aldrovandi, Gesner, Quiccheberg and Kircher to form their particular philosophies whereby the world might be explained by the encyclopedic collecting and arrangement of objects. Pliny's *De Naturalis* in thirty six volumes provided a description of the world, its movements and those of its planets. Pliny discusses the place of man and nature within the macrocosm, and their relationship to God's purpose. Not only was nature created for man, but an investigation and analysis of its variety would represent the highest goal of human endeavour. In order that the constituents, animal, vegetable and mineral may be examined, he advocated that they be collected together in one place. In about 1580 Anton Eisenhoit produced an engraved frontispiece for the catalogue of the natural history collections of Michele Mercati in Rome. The classical building with a barrel vault, through which one looks onto a circular temple, is provided with cupboards, presses and niches for the storage and display of paintings, sculpture and artefacts.²²

²⁰ Bartolomeo Delbene. *Civitas Veri*. Paris. 1609. Discussed in Fabianski, Marcin. 'Iconography of the Architecture of Ideal Musaea', *Journal of the History of Collections*. Vol.2, no. 2 (1990) pp.95-134; Sir Francis Bacon. *New Atlantis*. London 1627. Discussed in Mac Gregor, A. 'A Magazin of all manner of Inventions. Museums in the Quest for 'Salomon's House' in Seventeenth Century England'. *Journal of the History of Collections*. Vol.1. No.2. (1989) pp.207-212.

²¹ Filarete. *Trattato* in Fabianski, Marcin. op.cit.

²² Kesting, A.M. *Anton Eisenhoit* Westfalen, Sonderheft 16. Münster. Aschendorff. 1964. p.21, p.56

Ulisse Aldrovandi (1522-1605) was Professor of Botany and Natural History in his native Bologna, founding the botanic garden there in 1567. Conrad Gesner (1516-1565) was successively Professor of Greek at Lausanne and of Physic and Natural Sciences in Zurich. He was a prodigious writer on mineralogy, zoology and botany. These subjects were reflected in his own collection. Athanasius Kircher (?1601-1680) was a German Jesuit, who organised an extensive collection relating to science in the College of Rome. It became known as the *Museo Kircheriano*. Aldrovandi, Gesner and Kircher all dreamt of drawing together an alphabetically organised collection based on Pliny's encyclopedic principles. In Aldrovandi's case this would be complemented by the *Pandechion*, made up of a multitude of zoological, mineralogical and botanical references written on scraps of paper which his students compiled and organised in eighty three volumes from 1589. The volumes were intended to function as a lexicon, and indeed quickly proved a standard work for other scientific collectors. Aldrovandi's collection formed the basis of the *Museo Communale* in Bologna. He gave credibility to any manufactured object for its technical curiosity before considering any artistic merit. Ethnographic material from Egypt and Mexico was included to illustrate complimentary mythologies. Kircher amassed a considerable variety of ethnographic material through Jesuit missionary contacts in the Middle and Far East which was displayed within galleries decorated with emblems representing the terrestrial and celestial spheres. These collections broke the notion that collecting had to be exclusively a Court activity, and that collections were private and inaccessible. The scientific experiments which Kircher conducted within his *Museo* were public events.

The collections, which were amassed with the purpose of transmitting information by the systematic arrangement of artefacts, still had to be deciphered and were supported by catalogues. Samuel Quiccheberg (1529-1567) employed by Albrecht V at the Bavarian Court is author of possibly the earliest museum tract, which is based on the tenets expounded by Pliny in his *De Naturalis*.²³ Quiccheberg's tract *Inscriptiones vel Tituli* written in 1565 contains four chapters in which he discusses how a collection could be compiled to represent the whole universe. It suggests how material should be classified and lists contemporary collections of art and artefacts which might serve as models for the aspiring collector. Within the section covering the classification of the collection Quiccheberg advocates four categories. The first would contain sacred objects, painting and other artistic work, the second works of art produced by man from natural materials, the third category comprised organic material in its unaltered state, and the last artistic works which could stand as genealogical tables to celebrate the pedigree of the collector. Within this structure Quiccheberg suggested that certain groups of objects could assume their own collection status, such as the *kunstkammer* and the *wunderkammer*. He stressed the importance of a library as a key component of the larger collection.

Caroline's early sojourn at the Saxon Court in Dresden becomes significant as it was here that Quiccheberg's museological theories were taken up and developed with particular enthusiasm. The treatise prepared by Gabriel Kaltemarcht for Christian I of Saxony in 1587 not only stresses the responsibility of a ruler to foster and encourage an appreciation of the arts and sciences and advocates the educational value of collecting but also provides advice on how a

²³ Samuel Quiccheberg. *Inscriptiones vel Tituli Theatri Amplissimi*....Munich. 1565. Discussed in Schutz, Eva. 'Notes on the History of Collecting and of Museums.' *Journal of the History of Collections* Vol.2 no.2. 1990. pp.205-218

collection should be formed.²⁴ The ideas provided in *Kunst und Naturalien Kammern.....* by Johan Damian Major (1636-1693), published in Kiel in 1674, while again grounded in Pliny also pick up and develop Quiccheberg's principles were used as organizing rationale for the Green Vault collections in Dresden, a collection which Caroline may have known as a young girl. Major's tract has eight chapters within which he discusses why man has the urge to collect, and gives names to the types of collections he has encountered. The work concludes with practical instructions for the ordering and care of a collection.

During Caroline's period living at the court in Berlin, she would have encountered Lorenz Berger (1653-1705) of Heidelberg, lately the Antiquarian and Librarian to the Electors Palatine, appointed in 1686 Councillor and Librarian to Caroline's guardian Frederick III. Under Berger, one of the greatest antiquarians of his day, the Cabinet of Coins and Medals, the collection of antiquities, the library and the *Kunst- und Naturalienkammer* established by rulers of the House of Brandenburg since the late 16th century was enlarged and reorganised. Caroline would have been present in 1703 as the collections and the library were moved to the suite of rooms especially fitted out in the new Berliner Schloss.

In the chapters which follow I will dissect Queen Caroline's programme of artistic patronage to show how she follows many of the principles of amassing and organisation of collections practised in the German courts she encountered in childhood which were themselves rooted in an earlier renaissance philosophy. The first chapter discusses her sculptural programmes, two of which commemorate ancient British heroes and the third which celebrates contemporary British

²⁴ Gabriel Kaltemarcht *Bedenken wie eine Kunst-cammer Aufzurichten seyn Möchte* Dresden. 1587. Transcribed and translated in Gutfleisch, B. and Menzhausen, J. 'How a Kunstkammer should be formed.' *Journal of the History of Collections*. Vol.1. no.1. 1989. pp.3-32

scientists and philosophers. Chapter two deals with the Queen's collection of royal portraiture honouring her English royal forebears, which contemporaries claimed was the greatest 'Store of the English'. In chapter three I describe how a *wunderkammer* was created by the Queen so she could delight in the mysteries of the natural world, and the ingenuity of man. The final chapter concerns the Queen's library projects and in particular her great universal library at St James's Palace, categorised to reflect all known fields of knowledge. While with respect to identifying books in Caroline's collection which survive I can add only a few more titles to Ms Jay's tally, it has always been my intention in this study to consider the Queen's libraries from a different point of view. The library established within the Queen's garden pavilion at Kew, called Merlin's Cave, was just one component in a larger complex scheme within which the Queen drew together architects, artists and writers to celebrate the English royal pedigree. The new library at St James's was the Queen's most significant architectural project, and contained her third and final programme of sculpted worthies. In my broad discussion of the Queen's cultural patronage I will discuss why we should see behind her development of a universal library the creation of a congenial and appropriate forum within which her promotion of contemporary worthies, the artists, architects, philosophers and scientists, might take place.

I will discuss how the Caroline of Ansbach achieved her objectives, and what might have been her motives in doing so. I will touch on how this was bound up in her aspiration to achieve success in her role as Princess of Wales and as Queen Consort. I will discuss what distinguishes Caroline as a patron and collector, and indeed as a female patron and collector, from her predecessors, and her contemporaries both in royal circles and within the local courtier and literary circles with whom she sought to interact. Following Caroline's arrival in London in

1714, she used the royal residences available to her and the spaces these contained in new and imaginative ways as venues for her projects and this will be discussed. Finally I will assess how the milieu in which Caroline moved had influence on each project and how the artistic, literary and scientific debate of the English enlightenment made its mark.

This thesis is grounded in archival research. The value of the archive to later historians has been debated at length. This study serves to show just how important it can be. It is through the archive that information about Queen Caroline's artistic patronage has emerged and can be appreciated and celebrated for the first time. Not only can it provide indisputable information about projects long since swept away, often noting such minutiae that one is able to reconstruct them down to the last detail but it also has the extraordinary benefit of allowing an historian to appraise the projects in their own time. Information derived from archives has an immediacy - even intimacy, which provides the historian with a personal, lively and contemporary account of how the projects were experienced. Each commentator, whether he be an auditor, simply recording the details of expenditure on a given project, a friend of the queen or one of her critics discussing it, gives information, uncoloured by hindsight or later social conditioning..

It becomes the task of the historian however, to identify and evaluate any agenda which might colour the information provided by the contemporary recorder. Inevitably they are conditioned by the political and social circles in which they operated. It is necessary to appraise as many archival sources as possible about any given subject in order to tease out the complicated relationships which may have skewed how a matter may have been reported and ensure that any conclusions are drawn are from as leavened and balanced a set of information as possible. It is

even important to look at the type of archive source within information about a particular project emerges; this too can provide information about the status it was accorded, whether it was a personal initiative or intended for more a more public audience.

Archives, as so many other historic resources, survive as much by chance, as by judgement. Even within the most formally constructed sets of state papers, the series are broken on occasion where a volume has been lost or irretrievably damaged. Within family papers the survival of information depends on the vagaries of interest and the means of its later custodians. For the historian these gaps in information have to be bridged on occasion. This is only possible after having drawn together as much supporting evidence as possible. Eventually patterns in operating begin to emerge and habits are revealed, and with these in mind the historian is enabled to reach a conclusion.

The archive base, which can be marshalled to inform the historian about the cultural patronage of Queen Caroline, is considerable, rich and varied when considered as a whole. However as individual resources they are geographically scattered and patchy in their survival. Within the chapters which follow I will discuss which sources have been brought together to inform the discussion about each project. On occasion I have had to make assumptions on a balance of probability and in these instances I have provided the reasoning behind my conclusions.

CHAPTER 1

QUEEN CAROLINE : HER WORTHIES AND HEROES

The 16th century reappraisal of the works of Pliny and Aristotle by Aldrovandi, Gesner, Quiccheberg and Kircher led them to form their particular philosophies whereby the world might be explained by the encyclopaedic collecting and arrangement of objects. Within these collections, the importance of compiling a picture or sculptural series to represent the pedigree of the collector was stressed.

Samuel Quiccheberg's museum tract *Inscriptiones vel Tituli* which is based on the tenets of Pliny advocates four categories of artefact within the section discussing the classification of a collection. The fourth of these categories comprised works of art which could stand as genealogical tables. This idea was developed further by Johan Damian Major (1636-1693) in *Kunst und Naturalien Kammern* published in Kiel in 1674 which were used as the organising rationale for the Green Vault collections in Dresden. This tract includes careful instructions on the compiling of a family portrait series.

The creation and the preservation of such series, was given added impetus by the decrees issued by François I in France and by Albrecht V of Austria, declaring that certain valuables should be designated the unalienable heirlooms of the princely house, and should be handed down through the succession for ever. By this principle the modern notion of the princely state was reinforced and dignified, its prosperity concentrated and its continuity stressed.

The recommendation made by Varro, the Roman antiquary, of the value of compiling a set of portraits to make a historic series, or gallery of famous men also found favour in Renaissance Italy. This was reinforced by the modern notion of 'princeliness' which was partly informed by Baldessare Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano* published in 1528. He advocated that the mastering of the martial arts, should be conducted in tandem with an involvement in art and literature. He puts forward as example a list of nine worthies or heroes.

From the Middle Ages, the nine heroes was established as a popular subject for manuscript painting, tapestries, stained glass, wall painting and many other artistic media. The identities of the heroes were neatly explained by Jacques de Longuyon in his *Les Voeux du Paon* of about 1310.²⁵ In praising the feats of his hero Porris, the poet declared that no man could equal him, not even the nine noblest men who ever lived. The three honest heathens he names as Hector, Alexander and Julius Caesar, the three Hebrew champions were Joshua, David and Judus Maccabeus, and the three Christian heroes were Arthur, Charlemagne and Godfrey of Boulogne. As early as 1336 these characters were portrayed in a pageant in Arras.²⁶ Charles V had two large flagons made in silver gilt decorated with the nine heroes in relief, as well as two tapestries made in 1379-80 with the same subject. On July 19th 1388, Philippe le Hardi ordered tapestries of ten heroes, and nine of their complementary heroines from Pierre de Beaumetz at a cost of

²⁵ The *Voeux de Paon* was written by Jacques de Longuyon in about 1310, at the behest of Thiébaud de Bar, Bishop of Liège. It concerns principally the siege of Epheson and the exploits performed there by a group of knights in fulfilment of vows they had made to a peacock. It includes a panegyric of the nine worthies which served to introduce them into future popular literature. A copy of the *Voeux de Paon* can be found in Lambert le Tort. *The Romance of Alexander: a colotype of Ms Bodley 264* Introduction by M.R.James. Oxford. Clarendon Press. 1933

2000 francs. In the inventory made in 1416 of the effects of Louis d'Anjou, Count of Hainault, and Duke of Berry, there were two gold basins decorated with the nine heroes and heroines in red enamel.

The portrait series compiled in 16th century Italy while owing a debt to the 'nine heroes' tradition, expanded to include other 'viri illustri' which could be selected from antiquity, or from the contemporary sphere in which the patron circulated. The celebration of artists and scientists was also not unknown. Gian Lomazzo's illustrations to his temple of painting of 1580, show it decorated with portraits of seven painters. An illustration in Johannes Kepler's *Tabulae Rudolphinae* published in 1627, show each of the ten columns in his *museum memorial* topped with a statue of a scientist. His subjects including Tycho, Copernicus, Ptolomy, Melon, Hipparchus and Aratos were selected from antiquity. By the 17th century one could also cite numerous examples of such collections compiled by members of the royal houses in France and the German states. An interesting example of a contemporary worthies series worth mention was that of Joachim von Enzmilner for his Bibliotheca Windhagiana constructed between 1650 and 1673 in Schloss Windhag near Linz. He commissioned a painting of Christopher Columbus as the embodiment of geography, St Thomas Aquinas for theology, Justus Lipsius for history, Jean Fernel for medicine and St Thomas More for law.²⁷

²⁶ Paris, Bib.d'Arsenal Ms. 5269, Recits d'un Bourgeois de Valenciennes discussed in Whitaker. Muriel. *The Legends of Arthur*. London. D.S.Brewer. 1990

²⁷ Gaberson, Eric. 'Biliotheca Wndhagiana. A Seventeenth Century Austrian Library and it Decoration' *Journal of the History of Collections* 5 No. 2. 1993. pp.109-128

Queen Caroline was responsible for the creation of three series of sculpted worthies and heroes. Her first series was commissioned for a garden pavilion known as the Hermitage, designed by William Kent for Richmond Park in 1732. The second series was completed in about 1735 for Merlin's Cave, another rustic retreat built just a few yards from the Hermitage. The last series, which remained incomplete at the death of the Queen, may have been originally destined to further embellish Merlin's Cave, but was subsequently regarded as the appropriate decoration for the Queen's new library which was built at St James Palace between 1736 and 1737.

Information about each of the worthies schemes is gleaned from a close reading of Works and the Lord Chamberlain's papers in the National Archives. This information is very patchy, probably because the major part of the expense for these very personal projects was met by the Queen's Privy Purse. Only a short series of Privy Purse accounts from July 1731 to September 1733 survives in the Royal Archives at Windsor Castle, but happily allow one to identify the contractors working on the Hermitage. Adams volume 56, folios 25, 33 and 34 in Sir John Soane's Museum, the Adam volume folios 11 and 12 in the RIBA Drawings Collection, and the archives of the Earls of Leicester at Holkham Hall contain illustrations by William Kent towards the Hermitage.²⁸ (Figure 1) One of his designs is included as plate 33, in *Some Designs of Mr Inigo Jones and Mr William Kent* by J Vardy.²⁹ (Figure 2) A drawing of the Hermitage by Bernard Lens entitled 'A Prospect of Her Majestys Hermitage in ye Gardens at Richmond in Surey 1733', survives in the collection of the Museum of London and engravings were made after this, possibly

²⁸ Holkham Hall illustrations discussed in Sicca, C. 'Like a shallow cave by nature made....' *Architectura* 1986. op cit. pp.68-82

by T Bonles, accompany both Jean Rocque's illustrated plan 'The Exact Plan of the Royal Palace Gardens and Park at Richmond', and are found elsewhere.³⁰ (Figure 3-7) The design for Merlin's Cave is known from a series of engravings associated with T Bonles used to illustrate Dryden's *Merlin: or, The British Inchanter and King Arthur, The British Worthy* published by Edmund Curll in 1736.³¹ This engraving was incorporated into the Rocque map and also published widely. (Figure 8) John Vardy includes an engraving of Kent's suggestion of the interior of the cave in *Some Designs of Mr Inigo Jones and Mr William Kent*. (Figure 9) The only other image which relates to the interior arrangements is an anonymous engraving of the worthies tableaux found in *The Rarities of Richmond* by Edmund Curll.³² (Figure 10) Kent's designs for the Queen's Library at St James's are preserved in volume 147, folios 192-198 at Sir John Soane's Museum. (Figures 11-17) The City of Westminster Library and Archive holds a drawing of the interior made early in the 19th century and the final image which survives from the period immediately before the library was dismantled is a watercolour by Charles Wild made in 1819 now in the Royal Collection.³³ (Figures 18-19)

The five busts which comprise the Hermitage worthies remain part of the Royal Collection, and are at present displayed in the Privy Chamber at Kensington Palace. (Figures 20-24) The Merlin's Cave series is lost and known only from two illustrations, one included in Edmund Curll's *Rarities of Richmond* and the other by William Kent,

²⁹ Vardy, John. *Some Designs of Mr Inigo Jones and Mr William Kent* London. 1744

³⁰ Rocque, Jean. *The Exact Plan of the Royal Palace, Garden and Park at Richmond*. 1734. BL Maps. K. Top. 41. 16. f : Rocque, Jean. *The Exact Plan of the Royal Palace, Garden and Park at Richmond*. 1754. BL Maps. K. Top. 41. 16. h

³¹ Dryden, J. *Merlin or The British Inchanter and King Arthur the British Worthy* London. E Curll. 1736

³² Curll, E. *The Rarities of Richmond. Being exact description of the Royal Hermitage and Merlin's cave, with his life and prophecies* London. 1736

engraved by John Vardy and included in *Some Designs by Mr Inigo Jones and Mr William Kent*. Only three of the terracotta busts of the library series have survived intact in the Royal Collection, with another in fragments following the destruction of the remainder when a shelf collapsed at Windsor Castle in 1906.³⁴ (Figures 25-28) Shortly before this accident the series as it had survived to the late 19th century was photographed. The photographs are preserved in the Royal Archives. (Figures 29-35)

First hand information about the Queen's involvement in the worthies projects can be gathered from the correspondence and journals kept by her friends and those within her close court circle, such as Lady Sundon, Lady Suffolk, Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, Lord Hervey and Lord Egmont. Individuals such as Lord Bathurst, Alexander Pope, Dean Swift and Mrs Delany prove to be interested and critical commentators on the Queen's artistic commissions outside the immediate royal orbit. For the wider community her projects were described and their merits debated in popular journals such as the *Gentleman's Magazine* and *The Daily Post* and those with more specific political agendas, such as *The Craftsman* and the *Present State of Great Britain*.

The Hermitage and Merlin's Cave buildings are discussed briefly in literature covering the architectural work of William Kent.³⁵ More scholarly works covering the history of

³³ Royal Collection. RL 22168, RCIN 922168

³⁴ Royal Collection, Edward VI, RCIN 53346, Queen Elizabeth I, RCIN 45101, Edward the Black Prince, RCIN 37067

³⁵ Jourdain, M. *The Works of William Kent* New York, London. Country Life. Charles Schreiber's Sons. 1948: Wilson, M. *William Kent. Architect, Designer, Painter, Gardener, 1685-1748* London. Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1984: Dixon Hunt, J. *William Kent. Landscape Designer* London. A. Zwemmer. 1987: Harris, J. *William Kent 1685-1748* London. The Soane Gallery. 1998.

Kew Gardens mention them in passing.³⁶ The most useful recent comment comes from Judith Colton who has written articles on both the Hermitage and on Merlin's Cave.³⁷ Cinzia Sicca has also written on Caroline's garden projects at Kew.³⁸ Some of the survivors of the sculptural series for the Queen's library are discussed by Katharine Eustace in her exhibition catalogue entitled *Michael Rysbrack 1694-1770* for Bristol Museum and Art Gallery in 1982.³⁹

As the sources relating to the Hermitage are largely visual it is useful to provide here a description of its form and decoration. The Hermitage was constructed with rough-hewn stones and had a triple arched façade with a central pediment supported on voussoirs flanking a central doorway. To the left side there was small square attic. Either side of the centre doorway were cusped quatrefoil shaped windows and an arch topped niche containing low bench seats as recorded in the Sir John Soane's Museum drawing, or according to Bernard Lens with arch topped doorways. The centre door and possibly those which flanked it were closed with spear topped railings. The building was built into the side of an artificial hillock, created by the Queen's gardener, Charles Bridgemen. This was topped with a screen of pine trees in the manner advocated in Batty Langley's *New Principles of Gardening* of 1728, a copy of which is listed in the Queen's library. It was approached across a circular lawn, fringed with trees.

³⁶ Batey, M. *Alexander Pope. The Poet and the Landscape* London. Barn Elms. 1999: Desmond, R. *The History of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew* London. Havill. 1995: King, R. *Royal Kew* London. Constable. 1985

³⁷ Colton, J. 'Kent's Hermitage for Queen Caroline at Richmond' *Architectura* 1974. op cit.: Colton, J. 'Merlin's Cave and Queen Caroline. Garden Art as Political Propaganda' *Eighteenth Century Studies* Vol X. op cit. pp.1-21

³⁸ Sicca, C. 'Like a shallow cave by nature made...' *Architectura* 1986. op cit. pp.68-82

³⁹ Eustace, Katharine. *Michael Rysbrack, Sculptor 1694-1770* Bristol. City of Bristol Museums and Art Gallery. 1982

The Hermitage was built by Henry Flitcroft, Clerk of the Works at Richmond, and Andrews Jelfe, the Master Mason. They were given directions to start work on 9th October 1731, and the book was finally passed on 27th April 1731-2.⁴⁰ The project officially cost £1141.1.4 ¼, with additional bills trickling in over the next six months totalling £130.8s.6d. The Queen added a massive £2028.0s.10d from her Privy Purse, topping this up with £115.2s.6d to buy for books for its library. The use of her private Privy Purse funds would enable her to disguise the overall total as she was not required to account for these publicly.

Behind the façade the RIBA drawing suggests that there was a small transverse lobby having apsidal ends. Passing across this, one entered a central octagonal room, sixteen feet in diameter with a deep exedra at the back. It was lit by a central lantern let into the vaulted ceiling in a manner calculated to create a quasi religious atmosphere. (Figure 35) Sir John Soane's Museum Adams vol. 56/33 shows arched niches for the busts set above the dado, beneath which day beds were placed. The exedra here was decorated with a dramatic corona of scalloped rays before which an altar was placed. The altar was depicted as being circular in the RIBA Adams volume fol. 11, and as square in RIBA Adams volume fol. 12, Vardy's elevation and the Sir John Soane's Museum drawings. Either side of the central space there seem to have been a small square room lit again from lanterns let into the ceilings, which were embellished with rich rococo decoration. The left-hand room was shown filled with a large bookcase. The right-hand room had an elaborate canopied bed.

The niches in the central room contained the busts to Sir Isaac Newton and John Locke to one side of the exedra, and Samuel Clarke and William Wollaston on the other. Placed on the 'altar' plinth in the exedra itself to preside over the pantheon was the bust of Robert Boyle, embodying the marriage between natural philosophy and Newtonian science. The first reference to the busts seems to be that of George Vertue in 1731 when he noted 'Four busts in stone are to be made by Signor Guelphi a sculptor for the Queens (building) at Richmond, Sir I Newton, Locke, Dr Clarke and Mr Wollaston'.⁴¹ The Works papers in the National Archives record payments were made to Giovanni Battista Guelphi of £10.2s in June 1731, £42 in September 1731, and it would appear that the bust of Robert Boyle followed later, costing the Queen £22.14s in June 1732.⁴²

Even though *Gentleman's Magazine* in August 1733 provides a confusing reference to Rysbrack as the sculptor of the Hermitage worthies series, the business accounts for the project indicate that they should be attributed to Giovanni Battista Guelphi (-1734) listing no other artist.⁴³ The publication of the Rysbrack attribution led to such confusion, that Rysbrack himself intervened and in a discussion with Sir Edward Littleton in 1756 declared 'Sir. I did not make the bust of Dr Clarke in the Hermitage; it was done by Mr Guelphi, an Italian, who is dead'.⁴⁴ It is possible that the *Gentleman's Magazine* article may have been alluding to the Library worthies, which in the very early stages of the commission may have been intended for one of the Kew pavilions. All the Hermitage

⁴⁰ TNA. Works 4/4

⁴¹ Walpole Society. *Vertue Notebooks III*. Walpole Society 22. Oxford. Walpole Society. 1934. p.51

⁴² TNA. Works 5/58

⁴³ *Gentleman's Magazine* Vol III. No.XXXI. August 1733, pp.421-422

busts have the hallmarks of Guelphi's style, with bold modelling of long, slightly horsey faces, framed with trailing locks of rather lank hair. While the Littleton discussion turned on the identification of just one of the busts, the whole series is treated in such a uniform way in approach to the medium and towards the subject, it is difficult to sustain an argument that there were two authors. By 1731 Rysbrack had not only made his own bust of Sir Isaac Newton for the Conduit family, but in this year too the scaffolding was dismantled from Newton's tomb in Westminster Abbey, for which Rysbrack was responsible.⁴⁵ In both instances he treats his subject in a manner quite distinct from Guelphi's Hermitage bust and the version made after it which Alexander Pope bequeathed to Lord Mansfield, and is now in the collection at Scone Palace. It has been suggested that Rysbrack may have made busts after Guelphi's models, with the exception of that of Samuel Clarke. However the determination of the Queen to see her project completed, has resulted in a neat set of financial records both in the National Archives and in the Royal Archives, and in neither is Rysbrack mentioned. The great public interest in the Hermitage on its completion has left many detailed descriptions of a completed sculptural series. There are no references to any subsequent substitutions.

The white marble bust of Sir Isaac Newton is made with his head turned three-quarter right, wearing a pleated shirt with a low stand collar, left open at the neck, under a loose coat.⁴⁶ There is a swathe of drapery over his left shoulder. This pose is balanced by that of John Locke, which has his head turned half left. His pleated shirt is fastened with a

⁴⁴ Webb, M.I. 'Busts of Sir Isaac Newton' *Country Life*. Vol.CXI. Jan 25, 1952. pp.216-218

⁴⁵ Conduit bust illustrated in William Hogarth's painting 'The Indian Emperor or the Conquest of Mexico' 1730: Terracotta bust, Trinity College, Cambridge, signed and dated 1739

⁴⁶ Royal Collection. RCIN 1392

button at the neck, under a loose coat.⁴⁷ He has a swathe of drapery over his right shoulder. Samuel Clarke turns his head slightly to the right and is wearing clerical dress comprising a gathered cassock and falling bands.⁴⁸ His complement is the bust of William Wollaston which looks left. He also wears clerical dress with his cassock buttoning down the centre front, left open at the neck for his bands to show.⁴⁹ Robert Boyle is made with his head turned slightly left. He wears a pleated shirt with a low stand collar, left open at the neck, under his loosely falling coat.⁵⁰ There is a swathe of drapery arranged over his right shoulder. The busts range in height between 74-75cm, and are supported on later circular socles made in the style associated with Sir Francis Chantry, on which the names of the individual has been incised. The busts are not signed or dated.

The Hermitage pantheon of contemporary worthies may be seen as the Queen's tribute to Newtonian science and Latitudinarian theology. Many philosophers of the late 17th and early 18th centuries were concerned that science could be used to support belief in Christian theism. They used as examples new discoveries about the structure and symmetry of natural elements within the cosmos, which emerged particularly through the studies of Sir Isaac Newton.⁵¹ Newton (1642-1727) was born in Lincolnshire and educated at Cambridge, where he succeeded to the Lucasian Chair of Philosophy in 1669. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1672, and became its President in 1705, the same year he was knighted. John Locke set out to prove the truth of Christianity as he would any historical or philosophical theory. He supported the concept of natural religion

⁴⁷ Royal Collection. RCIN 1395

⁴⁸ Royal Collection. RCIN 1394

⁴⁹ Royal Collection. RCIN 1390

⁵⁰ Royal Collection. RCIN 1393

on the basis that human reason should be seen as direct and personal revelation of the divine to mankind.⁵² Locke (1632-1704) was born in Somerset and educated at Oxford, where he met Robert Boyle, who had settled there in 1654. Locke became lecturer in Greek in 1660, in Rhetoric in 1662 and in Moral Philosophy in 1663. The busts of Newton and Locke were placed together on the right side of the Hermitage.

After the death of Locke in 1704, Samuel Clarke was regarded as the foremost English metaphysician. He was in the eyes of many the theologian counterpart to Newton. Sir Leslie Stephen suggested later that his works should be to Christianity what Newton's 'Principia' was to astronomy.⁵³ He believed strongly that science should be used in the service of religion, even if he did not subscribe absolutely to theist theory. Clarke (1675-1729) was born in Norwich and was educated at Cambridge. A friend of William Whiston, he would succeed him in 1702 as chaplain to Bishop More of Norwich, when Whiston himself succeeded Newton to the Lucasian Chair. In 1706 he moved to take up the living at St Benet's, Paul's Wharf in London. Shortly after he was made a Chaplain in Ordinary to Queen Anne, and was presented with the living at St James's Piccadilly in 1709. William Wollaston was a disciple of Clarke, and author of *The Religion of Nature delineated*. Though in 1722 this text had had to be printed privately, when it was re-published in 1724 it became hugely popular. Ten thousand copies sold immediately, and there were seven new editions between 1724 and 1750. This work expounded the case for theism using as evidence examples of divine order within the universe. Wollaston (1660-

⁵¹ See Cassirer, Ernst. *The Philosophy of the Enlightenment* Translated by Fritz C A Koelin and James P Pettegrove. Princeton. Princeton University Press. 1951

⁵² See Stephen, Sir Leslie. *History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century* 2 vol. London. Century. 1876. Vol I. pp.83-85

1729) was born in Staffordshire and educated briefly at Cambridge. From relatively humble origins, and early employment as an assistant master at Birmingham School, his fortunes changed in 1688, when he inherited a substantial estate from a cousin. He subsequently moved to London and while there became part of the local intellectual community. The busts of Clarke and Wollaston arranged on the left side of the Hermitage provide pendants to those of Newton and Locke.

As chemist, physicist and philosopher, Robert Boyle (1627-1691) who presided over the pantheon, provided the link between the two pairs of worthies. His bust, as the *Gentleman's Magazine* noted 'Stands higher, on a pedestal in the inmost, and as it were the most sacred recess of the Place; behind his Head, a large golden Sun, darting its wide spreading beams all about and towards the others to whom his Aspect is directed.'⁵⁴ The author of a poem published in the *Haven of Parnassus or the Ladys Miscellany for the Year MDCCXXXV* cited by Edmund Curll in his 'Rarities of Richmond published in 1736 declared:

Wisdom and Piety their Beams unite
To shine in Boyle with all convections light,
Which thro' the various walks of Nature shews
God, the Prime Source, whence all Perfection flows.

Born the seventh son, and fourteenth child of Richard Boyle, Earl of Cork, Robert travelled widely in Europe before settling in Oxford in 1654. While devoting his life to chemistry, and becoming a founder member of the Royal Society, his interests extended to theology and moral philosophy. In 1690 he published *The Christian Virtuosos* :

⁵³ Stephen, Sir L. op.cit. Vol I pp.120-123: Vol II pp.5-9

⁵⁴ *Gentleman's Magazine*. April 1733. p.208

Shewing that by being addicted to Experimental Philosophy, a man is rather assisted than indisposed to be a good Christian, and other tracts on these lines followed. On his death he left £50 a year to found the Boyle Lectures, which were intended to defend Christianity against unbelievers.

Caroline would have been introduced to the work of Newton, and probably to the works of Boyle too by Gottfried Leibnitz, who had enjoyed royal favour in the court in Berlin under the Electress Sophie-Charlotte and later in Hanover with the Electress Sophia. Leibnitz's contact with the British scientist had started with an exchange of letters in 1676. However their initial respect and admiration for each other turned to animosity in 1705, when both claimed to have invented the theory of fluxions. While in Berlin and at Herrenhausen, Caroline had also conducted a lively correspondence with Voltaire, who was an enthusiastic admirer of Newton as well as Boyle and Locke. Despite the estrangement between Leibnitz and Newton, Caroline's own spirit of enquiry was not dampened. On February 11th 1716, following her arrival in London, she is recorded by Lady Cowper entertaining Sir Isaac Newton with Dr Clarke so they should 'explain Sir Isaac's System of Philosophy'.⁵⁵ Caroline acquired a careful selection of his key works and the Royal Collection still contains a portrait of Newton from the studio of Sir Godfrey Kneller.⁵⁶ (Figure 36)

⁵⁵ Cowper, Mary, Countess. *Diary of Mary Countess Cowper, Lady of the Bedchamber to the Princess of Wales 1714-1720* London. John Murray. 1864. p.84

⁵⁶The Royal Collection RCIN 406080. BL Add Ms 11511 includes the following publications by Sir Isaac Newton: *Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel & ye Apocalypse of St John: Philosophie Naturalis Principia Mathematica* 3rd edition. London. 1726. 2 copies: *Traité d'Optique sur les Réflexions, Réfractions, Influxions et Couleurs de la Lumière* 2 vol. Translated by Mr Coste Amsterdam 1720: *Recueil de Diverse Pièces sur la Philosophie, la Religion Naturelle, l'Histoire, les Mathématiques par Mss Leibnitz, Clarke, Newton et les auteurs célèbres* 2 vol. Amsterdam. 1720, and the following books relating to Sir Isaac Newton's research: Pemberton, Henry. *A View of Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophy* London. 1728: Clarke,

Samuel Clarke had come to Caroline's notice immediately after her arrival at St James's Palace in 1714. He had hurried there on 17th November to present her with copies of his books.⁵⁷ The Queen read them promptly and just two days later Lady Cowper reports that her mistress had declared 'Dr Clarke shall be one of my favourites; his writings are the finest things in the world.'⁵⁸ It was at the instigation of the Princess that Clarke entered into a correspondence with Leibnitz between 1715 and 1716 in which they debated the nature of time and space.⁵⁹ She had a great number of books by Clarke in her library, together with numerous commentaries on his theories.⁶⁰ There were often multiple editions, perhaps because Clarke himself was also careful to present her with copies. It is interesting to note that the library contained the Leibnitz and Clarke correspondence *A Collection of Papers which passed between the late learned Mr Leibnitz and Dr Clarke in the years 1715 and 1716 relating to the Principles of Natural Philosophy* which was edited and published in 1717. When Clarke died in 1729 Lord Egmont reported that the Queen had a portrait of him after Jervas, hung in Kensington Palace, and commissioned a fulsome epitaph caption to hang beneath it from Dr Hoadley,

John A *Demonstration of some of the principal sections of Sir Isaac Newton's principles of Natural Philosophy in which his particular method of treating that useful subject is explained & applied to some of the chief Phenomena of the system of the world* 1730

⁵⁷ Cowper, Mary Countess. *Diary* op cit. p.14

⁵⁸ Ibid. p.17

⁵⁹ Ibid. p.74 'Sir Isaac Newton and Dr Clarke come this afternoon to explain Sir Isaac's system of philosophy to the Princess'

⁶⁰ BL Add Ms 11511 includes the following publications by Dr Samuel Clarke: *A Paraphrase of the Four Evangelists with critical notes* London. 1714: *A Discourse concerning the being and attributes of God. The obligations of Natural Religion & the Truth & Certainty of the Christian Revelation* London. 1711 3 copies: *Three practical essays viz On Baptism, Confirmation, Repentance* London 1699: *The Scripture Doctorine of the Trinity* London. 1712. 3 copies: *A collection of papers which pass'd between the late learned Mr Leibnitz & Mr Clarke in the years 1715 & 1716 relating to the principles of Natural Philosophy & religion* London. 1717. 2 copies.

Bishop of Salisbury.⁶¹ I cannot find this picture listed in Kensington picture lists but the work survives in the Royal Collection.⁶² (Figure 37)

While Wollaston's residence in London should have allowed him opportunity to encounter Caroline, either as Princess of Wales, or as Queen, I cannot find a reference of their meeting. However a portrait of him after Michael Dahl and possibly by Charles Jervas survives from this period in the Royal Collection.⁶³ It was recorded by Bickham hanging in the Queen's Drawing Room at Windsor in 1741 as one of a number of 'portraits of several Poets Painters and Philosophers'.⁶⁴ (Figure 38)

Robert Boyle and John Locke had died many years before Caroline arrived in Britain, but her library contained a number of their books. While the list for Boyle is not extensive, she had the portrait of him by Kerseboom which had been purchased by George I moved from the Green Damask Room in the King's Private Apartments at Kensington Palace, to a room she had established as a venue for her collection of rarities.⁶⁵ (Figure 39) The Royal Collection still contains an early 18th century version of the portrait of John Locke by Sir Godfrey Kneller.⁶⁶ (Figure 40)

⁶¹ Egmont, John Perival. *Diary of the First Earl of Egmont, Viscount Perival* 2 vol. Historical Manuscripts Commission. London. HMSO. 1920. Vol II. pp.7-8

⁶² Royal Collection. RCIN 403011

⁶³ Royal Collection. RCIN 403014

⁶⁴ Bickham, G. *Deliciae Britannicae or the curiosities of Hampton Court and Windsor Castle* London. T Cooper, G Bickham jun . 1742. p.171

⁶⁵ Kerseboom, Royal Collection. OM332: BM Stowe Ms. 567 includes a note of the hanging arrangements under George I. For Queen Caroline's re-hang see Royal Collection, Surveyor's Office inventory Henry Lowman. *A Catalogue taken of the Pictures which are in the Publick and Private Lodgings of the Palace of Kensington*. c1732. OM30

⁶⁶ Royal Collection. RCIN 402818

On Caroline's arrival in London in 1714, she hosted regular gatherings of scientists, theologians as well as artists, architects and the litterati firstly at St James's Palace and later at Leicester House. These gatherings will be discussed in greater detail later. This was a very practical expression of her resolve to encourage the arts and sciences which she believed was part of the traditional calendar of responsibility of both the Consort Apparent and of Queen Consort. Although the role of consort is not gender specific there was also an equation that the promotion of the arts fell within the female sphere.

On the accession of George II, Caroline withdrew from such active participation in this intellectual debate especially when it touched moral issues or religion. It probably was a result of political considerations, both on her part and with her husband, the king's interests in mind. As her power of patronage increased perhaps she was aware it could be more open to abuse. While, as Lord Egmont reveals she may have been prepared to champion Clarke as a future Archbishop of Canterbury, there was an appreciation that this would not meet with universal approval.⁶⁷

As the Queen's patronage moved to humbler, less politically charged, recipients, with the granting of a pension for Milton's grand-daughter, a reprieve from death sentence and a pension for Richard Savage, and a living for Stephen Duck, the 'Thresher Poet', some of those with whom she had particularly enjoyed debating were now to be honoured privately in her pantheon. The Queen herself remarked to Lord Egmont 'There is a satisfaction to see the portraits of eminent persons dead and gone, but 'tis melancholy to reflect how soon their great actions are forgotten and that their glory terminates in a sheet

of paper'.⁶⁸ Though this project fell within the Queen's personal orbit and left her a free choice in selecting her heroes, she selected a distinguished British list which found immediate favour with commentators. 'Her own Leibnitz is not allowed a place there', declared the *Gentleman's Magazine* and the *Free Briton* in August 1733.⁶⁹

Queen Caroline's second worthies series had been established by 1735 in a second garden pavilion to the south of the Duck Pond, just three hundred yards from the Hermitage in the royal gardens at Richmond. It was rather misleadingly called a 'cave', as it was in fact a thatched cottage in the gothic style. Passing through the ogee shaped, and traceried doorway, flanked with gothic buttresses, one entered a large circular room with a vaulted ceiling. On either side there were octagonal pavilions furnished with bookcases. Both the central room and the two pavilions had its own thatched roof of dramatic beehive profile.

Andrews Jelfe and William Davis were responsible for the building of Merlin's Cave, which is initially identified in the National Archives accounts simply as 'the Building in the Wood'. The thatching of the roof was done by Henry Stallard.⁷⁰ The financial records are limited but a series is found in TNA. Works 5/59 dating from June 1735. The book was passed marking the completion of this phase of the project on August 1st, 1735.⁷¹ In July 1736 there is a note in the record of book movements within the Queen's

⁶⁷ Egmont, John Perival. *Diary* op cit. vol I. p.99

⁶⁸ Ibid. vol II. p.170.

⁶⁹ *Gentleman's Magazine* August 1733. p.421: *Free Briton* Vol. 195. 16 August 1733.

⁷⁰ TNA. Works 4/4 December 22, 1730

⁷¹ TNA. Works 4/6 August 1, 1735

library that a substantial collection of books had been put together and taken down to the Cave by John Jackson to fill the new bookshelves.⁷²

The worthies set up within Merlin's Cave took the form of six life-sized wax figures. Within Kent's atmospheric depiction of the interior these are shown arranged around a table placed in the central room, which accords with descriptions found in the *Gentleman's Magazine* and in Edmund Curll's *Rarities of Richmond*.⁷³ Confusingly Curll also includes with his text an engraving showing the figures arranged in pairs within a series of traceried niches.⁷⁴

The wax figures were made by Mrs Mary Salmon (1650-1740), whose collection of one hundred and forty waxworks were exhibited at the establishment at the sign of the Golden Salmon at St Martin's, Aldersgate. She had modelled the Queen's examples after identifiable people working within the royal circle. The iconographic programme seems to have confused even contemporary commentators, and there is ambiguity about the identity of some of the subjects. All reports concur that the figure of Merlin was based on Mr Ernest, First Page to the Prince of Wales and Merlin's secretary on Mr Kemp, who was one of the Duke of Cumberland's Grenadiers. Margaret Purcell, the Queen's Seamstress and who dressed her hair had sat for the figure of Elizabeth of York, and Miss Paget for Queen Elizabeth I. Mrs Poyntz and a tradesman's wife from Richmond were called on to sit for the last two figures.

⁷² See Appendix 13

⁷³ *Gentleman's Magazine* 5 August 1735, p.498

Merlin, accompanied by his secretary, was depicted seated at the table surrounded with mathematical instruments and with a book open before him. This was said by Edmund Curll to be a text called *The Life and Predictions of the late celebrated Duncan Campbell* which contained the prophesies of Campbell, a deaf and dumb labourer who had travelled to London in 1694, and who was adopted by fashionable society as a latter day Merlin. He had so impressed Daniel Defoe that he published *The History of the Life and Adventures of Mr Duncan Campbell* in about 1720. In the same year he was also presented to George I. Campbell's greatest skill it would seem was to identify future brides or bridegrooms.

Queen Elizabeth I is accompanied by a smaller, older figure, dressed in more informal dress. It is compelling to identify her as Mother Shipton, who, as the *Gentleman's Magazine* discusses was seen as a witch, or female Merlin. It is more prudent, however, to link her with the striking female figure which was placed with Elizabeth of York. This last example was clad in a short-skirted cotehardie, and a helmet topped with a plume of feathers, and carried a spear and sword. While variously described as Minerva or Britannia 'Britain's Minerva', she is identified most regularly as Britomart, who in Spenser's *Faerie Queene* is described protecting the Castle Joyeus from the usurper Malecasta, and defeating Radigund, the ruler of the Amazons, who questioned the right of woman to govern. Spenser presented her as the 'Martial Britoness' and an embodiment of the martial virtues of Elizabeth I. This would suggest that those who identified the small old woman figure as Glaucé, Britomart's nurse, were correct. It should be noted that William Kent who was so involved in the project, when providing illustrations for

⁷⁴ Curll, E. *The Rarities of Richmond* op cit. p.80

the *Faerie Queene* in 1751 chose to depict the episode when Britomart and Glaucé make a pilgrimage to Merlin's Cave. (Figure 41)

There were those who suggested that the figure of Britomart should be identified as Bradamante, her counterpart included in Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*. There is an intriguing Hanoverian reading which could be made with this connection. Bradamante, in the company of the prophetess Melissa, journeyed to Merlin's Cave where they learnt of the future glories of the House of D'Este. It was from this house that the house of Hanover claimed descent. As the Queen's library lists includes not only works by Spenser and Leibnitz's history of the House of Hanover which explores its early roots in d'Este family history, it is entirely possible that she was aware that the tableaux could be interpreted at many levels.⁷⁵ If she had subtly introduced a German illusion, the English audience was generally convinced that one should look to Spenser, the Englishman, as the inspiration. The Duchess of Marlborough wrote to her granddaughter 'I do not read romances but they say it is taken out of Spenser's Fairy Queen'.⁷⁶

The inclusion of Elizabeth of York is less ambiguous. The marriage of Elizabeth with Henry VII had united the houses of York and Lancaster, and raised the profile of the Welsh nation within the English community. Henry Tudor had set great store by his Celtic ancestry, and used Arthurian imagery regularly in propaganda to stress his right as a Welshman to take the throne as the rightful descendent of the fabled kings of ancient

⁷⁵ BL.Add.Ms.11511 includes: *The Work of Mr Edmund Spenser with a glossary explaining old obscure words put by Mr Hughs* London. 1715, and from Leibnitz; *Mantissa cordis Juns Gentium Diplomatici Hanoverae* 1700. 4 sets

Britain, in fulfilment of the prophecies made by Merlin. Their eldest son they called Arthur. The notional role of Arthur in the early history of Britain had been shaped by the publication of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* in about 1138, and the discovery of what preported to be Arthur's remains at Glastonbury Abbey in 1191. While the history of Arthur's life which emerged at this time was fabrication, it had left him with a new reality and dimension. Their granddaughter, Elizabeth I, also celebrated Arthurian legend in pageants and masques.

The Welshness of the Tudor dynasty was a factor which interested Caroline in her role as Princess of Wales between 1714 and 1727. Not only did her library contain a number of books concerning Welsh history but in 1716 on March 1, her birthday, the 'Society of Ancient Britons' was founded in her honour with a mission to raise consciousness of Welsh culture. Its constitution was lodged in her library.⁷⁷

Caroline's more general interest in her Tudor predecessors is demonstrated by her pride in having re-discovered the series of drawings made by Hans Holbein of members of the Tudor dynasty and the aristocratic circle which comprised their court. This discovery will be discussed in detail later. The drawings were immediately taken from Kensington Palace, where they had been concealed within a cabinet, to Richmond, her personal retreat, where she could examine them, identify the sitters, and order them as she wished. It is evident that she was aware of their merit as works of art, as well as their value as

⁷⁶ Churchill, Sarah. *Letters to a Grandmother. Being the correspondence between Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough with her Granddaughter Diana, Duchess of Bedford* Edited by G.S Thomson. London. Jonathan Cape. 1943. pp.171-172

images representing members of the English succession. When it was suggested by Lord Egmont that they should be engraved, she was very hesitant, knowing that without care damage could result to the originals.⁷⁸ Elsewhere I will identify a number of gems which survive within the Royal Collection which would seem to have been carved in the early 18th century but to replicate the styles of the mid 16th century and represent Tudor monarchs.⁷⁹ Is this further evidence of Caroline's fascination with that historic period? While the pieces could have been commissioned as a challenge to contemporary craftsmen to pit their skill against that of their 16th century counterparts, could there have been an intention that the robust modern replicas could be carried about, handled or even worn? This poses questions about how far Caroline can be seen as empathising with individual Tudor monarchs.⁸⁰

Caroline's antiquarian interests would have been drawn to the Tudor celebration of Arthurian myth with its combination of historic research with romantic superstition. Her royal predecessors had found this equally appealing. Following the accession of William and Mary, John Dryden had re-written his opera 'King Arthur', originally intended as a tribute to Charles II, with a new stress on the prophesy of Merlin that a new Arthur would emerge to unite 'Britons, Saxons, as one people, with one common tongue, one common faith.....in perpetual peace'. Sir Richard Blackmore had also written two epic poems

⁷⁷ *The Daily Courant* March 5 1716: BM. Add. Ms 11511 includes reference to Jones, Sir Thomas. *The Rise and Progress of the Society of Ancient Britons* London. 1717

⁷⁸ Egmont, John Perival *Diary* op cit. Vol II. p.297

⁷⁹ These gems will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 2 of this study. The following gems are likely to have been commissioned in the early 18th century: Royal Collection, RCIN65189. Cameo of sardonyx set on open gold mount with claws and a ring at the top. Carved with the busts of Henry VIII and the young Prince Edward (later Edward VI: Royal Collection, RCIN65190. Cameo of sardonyx, set in an open mount with corded rim carved with the bust of Henry VIII in three quarter profile to the right:

Prince Arthur and *King Arthur* in the 1690's, in which he specifically equated William III with King Arthur. Arthur was taken up in the early 18th century as a Whiggish hero. Caroline owned not only the work by Dryden but also her own copies of the popular Blackmore poems, together with the manuscript of a work entitled *King Arthur or Merlin the British Inchanter* by Henry Gissard.

There was also an appeal in that Arthurian legends were appreciated by contemporaries as being 'Gothic' in the sense that they were original, and primitive, and derived from a past held up by the Whigs as a model in its notions of the rights and freedom of the individual. A celebration of the 'gothic' can also be seen in Caroline's promotion of country dancing, even on the grandest of court occasions. Following her birthday court in 1728-29, Mrs Pendaves wrote to her mother 'the clock struck twelve, the French dances were just over, and every man took the woman he liked best to dance country dances.....'.⁸¹ Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough described to her granddaughter a entertainment given for the Queen, at the house of Sir Robert Walpole, 'they danced country dances and included the Hemp Dressers and came into the room where the Queen was at play and danced round the table; whereupon the Queen took Sir Paul (Metthwyn) by the hand, danced through all the rooms and so to the coach'.⁸²

It should be noted however that for Caroline any political connotation and even her antiquarian interests have to be balanced by her fascination with superstition and the

⁸⁰ Queen Caroline's collection of Tudor portraiture and in particular portraits of Elizabeth I is discussed in Chapter 2 of this study.

⁸¹ Granville, Mary, Mrs Delany. *Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville, Mrs Delany* Edited by Lady Llanover. Series 1. 3 vol. London. Richard Bentley. 1861. Vol I. pp.191-192

supernatural. Her equating of her wax figure of Merlin with the contemporary Duncan Campbell, ties in her collecting of books on witches and ghosts.⁸³

Both Elizabeth of York, and Elizabeth I had resided at Richmond Palace, on occasion, so there was also a neat local connection to inform Caroline's programme. George Augustus and Caroline as Prince and Princess of Wales had moved into Ormonde Lodge, the lease of which was lately forfeit from the Duke of Ormonde in 1717. The potential of this lodge situated in the park of Richmond Palace had first been identified by William III who enlarged the house and started works within its substantial gardens between 1693 and 1695. Under George Augustus and Caroline the red brick house was renamed Richmond Lodge. On his accession in 1727, George II settled a generous civil list payment of £100,000 a year on Caroline, and allocated to her Somerset House, and more significantly Richmond Lodge.

A more contemporary allusion for the Arthurian programme was suggested by the *Gentleman's Magazine* on the 5 November 1735 which reported an article that had appeared in the *Craftsman*, exploring the pedigree of Merlin. It suggested that Merlin was 'begotten by a Daemon, called Incubus upon the body of an English Lady....so that the

⁸² Churchill, Sarah. *Letters of a Grandmother* op cit. p.74

⁸³ BL. Add. Ms. 11511 includes the following titles: Bekker, Bathazar. *Le Monde Enchanté ou Examen des Communs Sentimens touchant les Esprits, leur nature, leur pouvoir, leur administration et leurs operations*. Translated from Dutch. 4 vol. Amsterdam. 1694: Boudin, J. *De la Demonomanie des sorciers* Paris. 1586: Le Loyer, Pierre. *Discours des Spectres où Visions et Apparitions d'Esprits comme Anges, Demons, et Ames, se monstrans visibles aux hommes* Paris. 1608: Glanvil, Joseph. *Saducismus Triumphatus or full and plain evidence concerning Witches & Apparitions. In two parts, the first Treating of their possibility, the second of the real existence* London. 1700: Hutchinson, Francis. *An Historical Essay concerning witchcraft with observations upon matters of fact, tending to clear the texts of the sacred scriptures & confute the vulgar errors about that point. And also two sermons, one in proof of Christian religion, the other concerning Good and Bad Angels* 1718

public are puzzled and cannot rightly understand whether he was Man or Devil'. The journal then chose to make a derogatory equation between Merlin, as a man of magic, with Sir Robert Walpole, the King's First Minister. Could the Queen be aware of this connection? She was generally well served by Walpole's sharp wits and skill at diplomacy.

Many of the agendas which the Queen explores in the worthies of Merlin's Cave are revisited in her last series which receives its first mention in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of June 1735 'Her Majesty has asked Mr Risbrack to make the bustoes in marble of all the Kings of England from William the Conqueror in order to be placed in the new building in the gardens at Richmond'.⁸⁴ From this reference one could infer that the busts may have been envisaged originally as an embellishment for the bookcases in the recently completed Merlin's Cave. When Vertue visited Rysback's studio later in 1735, in the company of the Queen, and noticed the busts in progress, he noted simply that they were destined for 'some palace'. The next reference I have found to the project is in January 1737-38, following the death of the Queen, when there is a request that 'Mr Risbrack's' bill be passed for 'the bustoes in the Queen's Library at St James's and ordered that he be writ to send to the Office (there to be kept) the models of the faces he made for working after'⁸⁵

⁸⁴ *Gentleman's Magazine* June 1753. p.331

⁸⁵ TNA. Works 4/7 11 Jan 1737-8

The library was constructed between 1736 and 1737, on the west side of St James's Palace, where the Office of Works had its yard.⁸⁶ It was a single storey building, sixty feet long, and thirty wide, forming a double cube. There is no record of its exterior elevation, but schemes by William Kent for its interior arrangements, have been preserved in the collections at Sir John Soane's Museum, and will be discussed later in this study.⁸⁷ There are two illustrations showing the interior of the library but both were made many years after the death of the Queen. One is a watercolour in the Royal Collection by Charles Wild, made in 1819, the other, again made in the early 19th century, but not attributed, and showing the library cleared of its projecting bookshelves is in the City of Westminster Library and Archive.⁸⁸ Both illustrations show the busts set high up on Kent's scrolling brackets, which are placed between embrasures containing either bookshelves or windows. There are also busts placed on the top of some of the bookcases. These seem to be more irregularly arranged and they may be later introductions. A chimneypiece was placed at each end of the room, over which a bust of George II and Queen Caroline were placed respectively. Both these sculptures by Rysbrack survive but as they are incised with dates significantly after the death of the Queen, should not be considered as an intrinsic part of the Queen's third worthies series.⁸⁹

⁸⁶ TNA. Works 1/1 p.44

⁸⁷ Sir John Soane's Museum Vol. 147/192-198

⁸⁸ Royal Collection. RCIN 922168. City of Westminster Library and Archive. F137

⁸⁹ Michael Rysbrack. Terracotta bust. Queen Caroline. 1739. Royal Collection. RCIN 1411: Michael Rysbrack. Terracotta bust. George II. 1738. Royal Collection. RCIN 1412: Michael Rysbrack. Marble bust. Queen Caroline. 1742. Royal Collection. RCIN 31317: Michael Rysbrack. Marble bust. George II. 1742. Royal Collection. RCIN 31322: It is interesting to note that Caroline's eldest daughter Anne commissioned from Rysbrack a version of the terracotta bust of Caroline in 1738, in memory of her mother. It suggests

The idea of decorating a library with a sculptural programme had its origins in classical antiquity. Pliny the Elder stated in the first century 'likenesses are set up in libraries in honour of those whose immortal spirits speak to us in these places'. He may well have been describing even earlier custom practised in the great libraries of the ancient world at Pergammon and Alexandria. The practise continued throughout the Middle Ages, under the auspices of the church, to the Renaissance where within the earliest studioli collections of books and sculpture were often brought together. Humanist scholars such as Justus Lipsius in discussing how a collection of books might be classified includes a chapter entirely devoted to the role of sculpture within the library, and recommends particularly the use of images of writers and philosophers following the advice given by Pliny.⁹⁰ Gabriel Naudé, the librarian and collections keeper for Cardinal Guilio Mazarin, whose library contained more than five thousand volumes and had a sculptural programme overflowing from the library into rooms adjacent, wrote his *Advis pour Dresser une Bibliothèque* in 1627. This was basically a set of instructions for wealthy collectors seeking to establish and then maintain a library. Claude Clement's treatise *Musei sive Bibliothecae extructio* followed in 1635. All contain a significant debate about the use of sculpture within the library and suggest that the worthies chosen should be selected as inspiration to the reader. A canon of worthy subjects began to emerge, including Plato, Hippocrates, Homer, Aristotle, Pindar and Cicero. Rulers such as the Caesars were included in this list on occasion, and were used for example to decorate the

even though the portrait of Caroline was said not to have been made from life, the project was in train in the Queen's lifetime. (Figures 123-126)

⁹⁰ Lipsius, Justus. *De Bibliothecis Syntagma*. 1602

library of Sir Robert Cotton.⁹¹ The repertoire also included the fathers of the church such as St Jerome, St Augustine and Justus of Ghent, and also more contemporary worthies. When John Evelyn visited the Vatican Library in Rome in 1645, he noted 'this library is the most nobly built, furnished and beautiful of any in the world....the walls and roof are painted antiques and grotesques like at Bodleian at Oxford, but emblems, figures, diagrams and the like learned inventions found out by the wit and industry of famous men. There were likewise the effigies of the most distinguished men of letters and fathers of the church'.⁹² The university libraries of Trinity College, Dublin, the Wren library at Trinity College, Cambridge, and the Codrington Library in Oxford by the early eighteenth century were embellished with sculpted portraits including Newton, and Locke, as each institution sought to lay claim to important scientific discoveries and demonstrated its engagement with, and encouragement of contemporary scientific and theological debate.

The busts which survive from Queen Caroline's third series have been identified as representing Queen Elizabeth I, Edward, the Black Prince and King Edward VI. Just a few fragments remain of Queen Philippa of Hainault. In the nineteenth century the bust of Elizabeth I had been embedded in an overmantle within the Royal Library at Windsor Castle. It is 686cm high and shows the Queen turned slightly right, her hair drawn back and tightly curled. It is ornamented with pendant jewel hanging over her forehead. A lace trimmed half ruff is left open at the throat, to reveal a double string of pearls, from which hangs a large two-part pendant. Her ermine trimmed robes, tied at the neck with cordons,

⁹¹ Discussed in Sloane, Kim, ed. *Enlightenment. Discovering the World in the Eighteenth Century* London. The British Museum Press. 2004

fall open to reveal a stomacher covered with jewelled ornaments. The Queen is given long pendant earrings.⁹³

The bust of Edward VI is 565mm high and is signed and dated 1738. It shows the king looking right, wearing over his short curling hair, a low crowned bonnet, the crown encircled with a jewelled band, into which a feather has been tucked. The bonnet is pulled down over the right ear. The collar of the Order of the Garter, with a large pendant Great George, is worn over a tight fitting doublet, fastening down the centre front with jewelled clasps.⁹⁴

The bust of Edward, the Black Prince is 510mm high. It shows the moustachioed prince dressed in armour, his epaulettes decorated with lion head masks. His helmet is surmounted with a filigree coronet.⁹⁵

Shortly before 1906, when the remainder of the busts which had survived to this date, were destroyed, an inventory of them was made and photographs taken. These reveal that the set had once included Edward III to balance the now fragmentary Philippa, Henry V and his wife, Catherine of Valois, Henry VII and Elizabeth of York, King Alfred and Henry, Prince of Wales. It is entirely possible that the set was once longer. In a room constructed with such an eye to its symmetry, it is surprising not to find an even number. Perhaps Rysbrack had not commenced work on all the busts which would complete the

⁹² Evelyn, John. *Diary of John Evelyn* Edited by Austen Dobson. 3 vol. London. 1906. Vol I. pp.208-209

⁹³ Royal Collection. RCIN 45101

⁹⁴ Royal Collection. RCIN 463346

⁹⁵ Royal Collection. RCIN 37067

cycle. Perhaps there had been further accidents involving the fragile terracottas before 1906.

The inclusion of Edward III and Henry V in the series is not unusual choices given the Queen's agendas. Both monarchs were noted for their valour, defending the honour and liberties of the nation, at Crécy, and Agincourt respectively. It is interesting that Edward, so often held up as a promoter of English chivalric tradition, having founded the Order of the Garter, which had remained the senior of the knightly Orders, was not shown wearing its insignia. Rysbrack depicted him instead as the military hero, in armour, his helmet encircled with a coronet decorated with fleurs-de-lys and pearls, and topped with a helm composed of leaves. Henry V also was not shown wearing armour, but dressed simply in a fur trimmed gown. The inclusion in the sequence of the Black Prince, who is dressed in armour, his helmet topped with a coronet, in conjunction with the bust of Edward III, recalls the comments made by Talbot, Bishop of Oxford to Mrs Clayton on the Hanoverian succession that 'I see in the King (George I) and His Royal Highness (George Augustus, Prince of Wales, later George II) our glorious Edward and the Black Prince....'.⁹⁶

What perhaps is more remarkable is the inclusion of women - Philippa the wife of Edward III, and Catherine, the wife of Henry V, in the series. Perhaps one could argue that Caroline simply had wished her male heroes to have a balance within the architecture scheme. However it is interesting to discover that in histories prepared in the early 18th

⁹⁶ Sundon, Viscountess. *Memoirs of Viscountess Sundon Mistress of the Robes to Queen Caroline (etc)* Edited by A.T.Thomson. 2 vol. Vol I. p.66

century stories of the exploits of both women were celebrated which may have captured the Queen's imagination. Both Philippa of Hainault and Catherine of Valois had proved to be effective and respected queen consorts and could have also have been included in this scheme to represent the importance of this role within the dynastic succession as well as the women as individuals being held up by Queen Caroline as role models.⁹⁷ Philippa was said to have raised an army of twelve thousand men, on her own initiative, while her husband was in France, in order to defend England against David, King of Scotland. She had not only ventured to approach the enemy, but rode amongst the troops exhorting each man to do his duty. Queen Philippa was the founder of Queen's College in Oxford, which provides another link to Queen Caroline. Caroline became patron of the College in 1733, and generously had contributed £1000, divided into four instalments to complete the building of a new front quadrangle in 1735. It may have been interest in Welsh history, which caused Caroline to give Catherine of Valois her place in the series. Following the death of Henry V, Catherine had married Owen Tudor, thereby establishing the first Welsh link with the ruling house of England.⁹⁸

Caroline's decision to include a bust of King Alfred is interesting, given her earlier regard for King Arthur, whom she included in her second, and most allegorical worthies series. Does this indicate that the 'gothic' has given way to the scientific in the Queen's priority? The existence of Alfred had been established with hard evidence drawn together by Sir John Spelman, in his 'The Life of Alfred the Great' published in 1709, a copy of which appears in the papers listing the movements of the Queen's books between

⁹⁷ Granger, Rev J. *Biographical History of England* 5th edition. 6 vol. London. William Baynes. 1825. Vol I. p.13 (Philippa of Hainault); p.20 (Catherine of Valois)

the palaces. This book forms part of a small list of books owned by the Queen which cover archaeological subjects. This included *Itinerarium Curiosum, or an account of the Antiquities and Curiosities observ'd in travels through Great Britain* by William Stukeley (1687-1765), the archaeologist of Avebury and Stonehenge.

However the inclusion of Alfred has political significance too. If Alfred the Great had entered the 18th century as the perfect image of the medieval ruler, resplendent in ermine trimmed robes, famed for his wisdom and sense of justice, following the Act of Settlement he was adopted as a hero by the Hanoverian regime. He became their quintessentially 'British' ruler, the embodiment of the nation's political identity, the father of his people and the defender of its liberties. In the same way as Bede and Asser in *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Angelorum* and *Life of King Alfred* respectively had constructed the concept of a united 'Britannia' though Alfred's unification of many of the previously independent kingdoms, the Act of Union with Scotland in 1707 had done much to encourage awareness of a 'British' national identity. Both George I and particularly George II and Queen Caroline were anxious that this notion continued to be fostered and felt their regime would gain an increased legitimacy in the public conscience by association with this venerable predecessor. His association with the early establishment and regulation of governmental organisation also ensured he was seen as champion by the Whig party of what they believed was their enlightened and democratic approach of government. David Wilkins had dedicated his edition of the corpus of Anglo-Saxon legislation to George I in 1721.

⁹⁸ Wynne, Sir John. *The History of the Gwydir Family* Llandysul. Gomer Press. 1937. p.69

Frederick, Prince of Wales, the eldest son of George II and Caroline, is traditionally thought to be the first Hanoverian to introduce images of Alfred into his artistic programmes. Indeed in 1723 when Sir Richard Blackmore wrote a second epic poem, to follow the one concerning the legend of King Arthur, this one called 'Alfred. An Epick Poem in twelve books' it was dedicated to 'the Illustrious Prince Frederick of Hanover'. When Frederick started building the Octagon Temple in the grounds of Carlton House, his new London residence in 1735, he commissioned statues of King Alfred and the Black Prince from Michael Rysbrack to flank the steps. The figures cost him £105, when the bill was presented in 1736.⁹⁹ This timetable would suggest that his scheme was in train over exactly the same period that Rysbrack was working on the bust for his mother. Caroline owned her own two copies of Blackmore's poem.¹⁰⁰

The inclusion of Henry, Prince of Wales in the sequence is curious but he may have been included as the Queen's model of the ideal promoter and encourager of the arts and sciences. This is a role traditionally apportioned to the Queen Consort and Queen. Caroline was very aware of her responsibility. In the *wunderkammer* she drew together, and in the collection of portraits of her English royal predecessors she compiled she included items which had once been part of Prince Henry's collection. One of the inventories of the rarities collection, made following the death of the Queen has

⁹⁹ *The Craftsman* 6 September 1735 'His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales had order'd a fine statue of King Alfred to be made for his gardens in Pall Mall.....': Duchy of Cornwall Office. 6:292. '£105. For two bustows of King Alfred and the Black Prince and £7 for two pedestals'. 31st August 1736

¹⁰⁰ BL Add Ms 11511 includes the title Blackmore, Sir Richard. *Alfred, an Epick Poem in Twelve Books* London. 1828. 2 copies

annotations suggesting the provenance of some items to Prince Henry's collections was well known.¹⁰¹

Rysbrack (1694-1770) was known to the Caroline as Princess of Wales from 1723, when he completed a fine carved marble relief over-mantle of a 'Roman Marriage' for the Cupola Room at Kensington Palace and it is perhaps surprising that she did not select him as her artist for the Hermitage sculpture series which was commissioned just as he had completed work on the monument to Newton for Westminster Abbey. In addition he had built up a substantial business carving portrait busts. Vertue notes that sixty had been completed before 1732, and that by this time George II had sat to him twice. Perhaps Rysbrack's status as a protégé of the Tory, James Gibbs, had left Caroline with a lingering unease about such an appointment. Perhaps she felt a greater loyalty to the Whiggish Lord Burlington, who had brought Guelphi from Rome in about 1715 and under whose protection the sculptor remained until he returned to Rome in 1734.¹⁰²

Burlington (1694-1753) Lord Treasurer of Ireland to George I, Lord Lieutenant of both the East and West Ridings of Yorkshire and later a Privy Councillor, stands as the 'eminence gris' behind many appointments in the first and second decade of the 18th century of a new generation of artists and architects to royal office including William Kent and Colen Campbell. In 1729 the Queen had asked Burlington to provide a design for the terrace at Windsor Castle.¹⁰³ Even though in the 1730's political disagreements and ill health led to breaks in royal service, Lord Burlington when completing his work

¹⁰¹ Royal Archives, Add Ms. 16. See Appendix 7: Royal Archives, Manuscript bought in 1942 from Mr Francis Harper. See Appendix 8

¹⁰² Guelphi had been trained by Camillo Rusconi, himself a pupil of Ercole Ferrate and in whose work the influences of both Algardi and Bernini may be seen.

on the villa at Chiswick in 1733 was provided by the Queen with five tonnes of slate from the store at the Royal Mews.¹⁰⁴ With Dorothy, Lady Burlington appointed as Lady of the Bedchamber to Caroline in 1727 it is certain the Queen would have been kept abreast of the politics and intrigue within both artistic and literary circles in London. There will be further discussion of the role played by Lord and Lady Burlington in the shaping of the Queen's patronage of artists later in this study. It is perhaps a tribute to Rysbrack's skill as an artist that Burlington saw fit to overlook his earlier political allegiance in promoting his early royal appointment.

By the time the Queen was seeking a sculptor to complete her library worthies, Guelphi had died in Rome, and she would have encountered ample evidence of Rysbrack's skill and experience for this nature of project. A native of Antwerp, by 1714 he was a master of the Guild of St Luke. It would seem he moved to London in about 1720, where according to Vertue, he had an introduction to James Gibbs, and through Michael Vervoort also one to the Duke of Marlborough. Other noble, and indeed royal commissions were to follow quickly.

In 1735, shortly before placing her new order, the Queen had visited Rysbrack in his studio to view the equestrian statue of William II, which within a month would be sent by sea to Bristol to be set up on in Queen's Square.¹⁰⁵ While there the Queen had opportunity to inspect busts 'of Kings and Queens lately done by him', and was somewhat critical. On encountering the cast of the face of James I she remarked 'fi il me

¹⁰³ Chatsworth 46 and 50 Chiswick & Chatsworth & Miscellaneous Drawings

¹⁰⁴ TNA. Works 4/5 May 22, 1733

semble a une Boureau, I won't have that done.'¹⁰⁶ Perhaps his history of collaborating on projects with William Kent also swayed her judgement. Kent was by this date part of the Queen's inner circle. Not only had he designed several buildings for her, collaborated on the design of her gardens but evidently advised her on many matters touching art or architecture which will be explored later. For her library Kent may have convinced her of the importance for the sculptural and architectural elements to work well together.

It is interesting to consider whether the Queen would have had an influence over the decisions Rysbrack took in his approach to the subjects she had suggested to him for her worthies. While records existing detailing a visit she made to his studio, and at which she criticised as well as praised his work, where the subjects overlapped with previous commissions he seems generally to have followed these earlier models. The Queen Elizabeth he made for Caroline in 1736, has many similarities with the example he had prepared for Cobham's Temple of Fame in 1729, and the version depicted by William Hogarth in his portrait of Mary Edwards of 1730 both made many years earlier. (Figure 78) Rysbrack is likely to have been as familiar as the Queen with visual sources such as the Westminster Abbey effigies, and through his friend James Gibbs could have arranged access to the Ditchley portrait of Elizabeth I.

The busts seem to have been modelled most closely on two series of engravings made by George Vertue. The first series known as his 'large heads' of the Kings of England since the Conquest were made to fit a quarto plate. The second series formed four octavo

¹⁰⁵ *Daily Journal* 11 June 1735: *General Evening Post* 10-12 June, 1735

¹⁰⁶ Vertue. *Notebooks* op cit. vol III. p.75

plates. They were used to illustrate *Salmons Chronological History* and most notably Rapin's *History of England* originally published in Paris in 1732-33. Nicholas Tindall's English translation *The Heads of the King's of England Proper for Mr Rapin's History* was published in London in 1736. Lord Egmont provides ample evidence in his journal covering 1732 and 1733 that the Queen was fascinated by engraved portrait 'Heads'.¹⁰⁷ Egmont had his own collection, which they discussed regularly, and which the Queen 'wanted much to see'.¹⁰⁸ When a loan was agreed, the Queen reneged on the arrangement to return the volumes claiming 'she had the curiosity to look them over a second time'.¹⁰⁹ (Appendix 4) Her library list and library movements log both contain reference to a folio volume called *Heads of the King's and Queen's of England*. It is not clear whether this is a copy of one of the editions of Rapin or another compendium.¹¹⁰

Vertue's engravings are annotated with their sources. He took as his source for the image of Edward III an 'ancient painting' at Windsor, Edward IV, Richard III and King Alfred were said to have been based on paintings hanging in Kensington Palace. These works seem to have escaped mention in all picture lists I have been able to locate for the palace. Henry VII and Elizabeth of York were based on an 'original in oil colours in the royal collection', Philippa's on a painting at Queen's College Oxford.

One should consider whether the particularly striking settings given to the Hermitage and Merlin's Cave worthies were created to add another dimension to the intellectual message

¹⁰⁷ See Appendix 4

¹⁰⁸ Egmont, John Perival. *Diary* op cit. Vol I. pp.280-281

¹⁰⁹ Ibid. Vol I. p.343

of the schemes. The hermitage had its semi-serious form in Count Olivarez's Buon Retiro, but by the early eighteenth century was regarded as little more than a picturesque piece of garden ornament. It was an architectural notion explored by William Kent. (Figure 42) The exterior architecture of Caroline's Hermitage was designed for dramatic effect. It was described in melancholy and atmospheric terms as a retreat 'like a shallow cave by nature made' in the poem *Richmond Garden*, published in the *London Magazine and Monthly Chronologer*.¹¹¹ Edmund Curll described it as 'very grotesque, being a Heap of Stones, thrown together in very artful disorder and curiously embellished with moss and shrubs to represent rude nature'.¹¹² 'The stones of this building appear as if laid by accident' claimed Walter Hanson, another commentator.¹¹³ 'Very solitary and romantic' was the comment recorded by Lord Egmont lifted from the *Gentleman's Magazine*.¹¹⁴ It was calculated to fill the mind of the spectator with 'pleasing melancholy', and all the more receptive to the message contained within. Once inside the building while rustic details in the grotto tradition persisted in the stalactites decorating the vaulting ribs of the octagon room, the spaces were generally elegant and more regularly appointed. It is interesting to speculate whether Caroline had set up consciously such a dichotomy of styles. Did she see that the rustic, naïve approach taken to the exterior elevation would induce a state of contemplation as one entered the classically proportioned interior, and give a greater force to the cerebral message of the worthies? As the poem 'Richmond Garden' concluded:

¹¹⁰ BL.C120.h.6(6) Mr Tide a envoyé à la bibliothèque ...the *Heads of the Kings and Queens of England*...fol. BL Add MS 11511 includes the title: *The Heads of the Kings and Queens of England* fol. 1 cannot find any copies of the engravings surviving in the Royal Collection Print Room.

¹¹¹ *London Magazine and Monthly Chronologer* VII.1738. pp.38-39

¹¹² Curll, E. *The Rarities of Richmond* op cit. p.7

¹¹³ Hanson, Walter. *A New and Universal History, Description and Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster* London. 1776. p.573

The sylvan scene with more than Nature drest
Involves the thoughts of the admiring guest

One can see a similar juxtaposition is set up with the appointment of the naïve ‘Thresher Poet’, Stephen Duck, as the Queen’s librarian at Kew. Stephen Duck had as the *Gentleman’s Magazine* explained in June 1736 ‘No other teaching than what enabled him to read and write English, and a little share of Arithmetic. About his 14th year he was taken from school and engaged in the honest employments of country life’. He continued to read and write, and his poems ‘On Poverty’, ‘The Threshers labour’ and the ‘Shunammite’ were handed about the country in manuscript.¹¹⁵ Lord Tankerville had copies sent to Mrs Clayton, at Windsor, where it was read by Lord Macclesfield to the Queen, on 11th September, 1730. The Queen was greatly impressed, sending Duck’s verses on to Alexander Pope. She proposed that she would support his talent, by appointing him initially as a Yeoman of the Guard and Keeper of Duck Island in St James’s Park. In 1735 after he had married Sarah Big a servant in the royal household, the Queen appointed Duck as Librarian at the Hermitage and Sarah as the Necessary Woman with the charge of cleaning the building. In many respects Duck would serve as the Queen’s hermit.¹¹⁶ In order to mould and nurture the charm and intelligence of this man the Queen and those in her circle ensured he was supplied with an impressive list of

¹¹⁴ Egmont, John Perival. *Diary* op cit. Vol II. p.190 : *Gentleman’s Magazine* Sept 1735. p.533

¹¹⁵ Sundon, Viscountess. *Memoirs* op cit. Vol I. p.187

¹¹⁶ Stephen Duck was treated very well in his role as hermit. The hermit appointed by The Hon. Charles Hamilton at Painshill as his garden developed in the 1730’s and 1740’s, while enjoying a reasonable salary, was supplied with just a bible, a pair of glasses, a mat, a hassock and an hourglass.

books for inspiration and education. These had been carefully selected by Dr Alured Clarke and Mrs Clayton.¹¹⁷

The architecture of Merlin's Cave was even more striking than that of the Hermitage. With its traceried doorway flanked with buttresses it could simply have been considered romantically 'gothic' reflecting in a general way the message carried by the waxworks but I believe that the decision to construct the dramatic thatched bee hive shaped roofs might suggest there was a further, and more precise message. It is interesting to discover that Andrews Jelfe (-1759), who was the Master Mason, had a knowledge and serious interest in contemporary archaeology and was a firm friend of the archaeologist and antiquary William Stukeley. Following his apprenticeship with Edward Strong, and partnerships with Edward Strong junior, and Christopher Cann, he joined George Mercer who had succeeded Cann as Master Mason to the Board of Ordnance. In 1719 he was appointed 'Architect and Clerk of the Works' for 'garrisons, forts, castles.....belonging to the Office of Ordnance', and this work took him to Scotland. There he surveyed a building traditionally associated with King Arthur and romantically called 'Arthur's O'on' or oven located the banks of the Carron River near Falkirk. It was in fact a circular domed Roman shrine, not dissimilar in form to Mrelin's Cave. Stukeley chose to have Jelfe's drawings engraved and they are preserved in the Bodleian Library.¹¹⁸ Whether Jelfe or indeed Stukeley were more impressed at the Arthurian association, the

¹¹⁷ Sundon, Viscountess. *Memoirs* op cit. vol I pp.189-192: Dr Alured Clarke to Mrs Clayton Sept 19th 1730 'I think he ought to have Chambers Dictionary, Danet's Dictionary of Antiquities, and Bailys Etymological Dictionary or books of the same sort.....I hope neither Swift, not Montaigne, nor South nor writers in the Dunciad Controvasy, nor even Cowley will fall into his hands.....and if her Majesty will allow me the honour of sparing a few hours in her library at Richmond when I come to town, I will endeavour to pick out the most useful things I can....'

¹¹⁸ Bodleian Maps 40 fol.6v, 7v

archaeology or the unusual design aspects of the building is difficult to discover. Henry Flitcroft (1697-1769) who was Surveyor of the Works at Richmond, had also encountered Stukeley during his period of employment with Lord Burlington. In being more than simply picturesque, perhaps this reveals again the Queen's interest in antiquarian discoveries and her fascination with contemporary debate concerning the origins of the British nation.

Alternatively the design could have been selected as one of the very limited range of 'primitive' structures known at the time. As well as the domed roof of 'Arthur's O'on', with its spurious Arthurian associations, one can also find other models for the dramatic bee-hive shaped roofs of Merlin's Cave, in contemporary archaeological and anthropological study of the life of early Britons, which included as the most memorable and significant members of early British society, the Druids. Antiquarian interest in the Druids can be traced back to at least the late sixteenth century, and by about 1620, they are presented as the ancient priests of Britain. In the 17th century they acquired a consistent visual identity, bare foot, with long hair topped with a leafy garland, a long beard, and wearing a long shaggy robe. Included in the background of such illustrations is sometimes a depiction of their dwellings, which are shown as small circular huts topped with conical roofs. (Figure 43) Inigo Jones described the primitive structures in his account of Stonehenge made in 1655. In 1723, Henry Rowlands in his *Mona Antiqua Restaurata* included such an example. In selecting the style of architecture for the Cave, perhaps William Kent and the Queen saw that a Druidical structure was appropriate choice for their monument to mythical and mystical origins of the British royal house. I

would like to think that Andrews Jelfe's knowledge of the work of William Stukeley added an archaeological element. While Stukeley's most notable work on the history of the Druids was completed after the death of the Queen, her library contained his work on Avebury and Stonehenge.¹¹⁹

On moving to consideration of the setting for the retreats, the Hermitage, framed with its thicket of pine trees, opening on to a circular lawn, set within a grove of trees was fashionably 'picturesque' in line with the garden design philosophies promoted by Joseph Addison and Stephen Switzer.¹²⁰ While in its detail the Hermitage arrangements followed closely Kent's design preserved in Sir John Soane's Museum, it is important to recognise within the Kew programme more generally the contribution of the royal gardener Charles Bridgeman.¹²¹ He had also worked on the garden for Richard Temple, Lord Cobham at Stowe, within which a hermitage to a very similar design by William Kent had been constructed in about 1731. Bridgeman planted the woody enclosure which provided the setting for Merlin's Cave too. Its façade was reflected in the Duck Pond cut just in front. Caroline had inherited Charles Bridgeman as her gardener from Queen Anne and George I. Elsewhere at Richmond one has evidence of his truly innovative work for the Queen - the introduction of cultivated fields into the park and the inclusion of

¹¹⁹ BL Add Ms. 11511 includes the title: Stukeley, William. *Itinerarium Curiosum, or an Account of the Antiquities and Curiosities observ'd in Travels through Great Britain* London. 1724

¹²⁰ Addison, Joseph 'The pleasures of the Imagination' *The Spectator* no. 411-21, 1712; Switzer, Stephen *Ichnographia Rustica* 1718

¹²¹ Horace Walpole in his *Anecdotes of Painting in England.....to which is added the History of Modern Taste in Gardening* London. 1782. attributes the greater innovation to Kent 'At that moment appeared Kent, painter enough to taste the charms of landscape, bold and opinionated enough to dare and to dictate. He leapt the fence, and saw that all nature was a garden.' Lord Hervey records that the Queen remarked of England 'Your island might be a pretty thing in that case for Bridgeman and Kent to cut into gardens' given both men credit as gardeners. Hervey, John, Baron. *Memoirs of the Reign of George II from his Accession to the Death of Queen Caroline* Edited by J.W. Croker. 3 vol. London. Bickers & Son. 1884. Vol II. p.204

‘morsels of a forest like appearance’ enthusiastically described by Horace Walpole in his *Anecdotes of Painting*.¹²² There was also a turf amphitheatre, a more elaborate example of an early scheme undertaken at Stowe in 1721, and which was subsequently copied by Alexander Pope at Twickenham in 1726, and at Claremont and Cliveden.¹²³ While undoubtedly at the cutting edge of landscape gardening fashion, I can find no evidence that his scheme was in any way ‘Anglo-Saxon’ or even more generally ‘British’ to accentuate the nationalistic message of both pantheons..

The Queen’s gardens also owed much to the gardening theory of Batty Langley (1696-1651). He was author of *The Design of Nature delineated* published in London in 1728. The Queen owned a copy of this publication in her library together with other works by Langley and intriguingly it is mentioned in the library movements log being returned from Kensington Palace in 1736.¹²⁴ Could this indicate that this book was consulted more regularly than the tomes on hydraulics, plans of the gardens at Versailles, and publications on more formally constructed grottoes and mazes also in the Queen’s possession? Without doubt Bridgeman was familiar with Langley’s prescriptions, together with those of d’Argenville, author of *La Theorie et la Practique du Jardinage*, another important early text relating to the picturesque garden movement published in

¹²² Walpole, Horace, Earl of Orford. *Anecdotes of Painting in England* Edited by F.W. Hilles and P.B. Daghehlian. New Haven Conn. London. Yale Univeristy Press. 1937. vol. IV. p.262

¹²³ Pope, Alexander. *The Works of Alexander Pope* Edited by Rev.W Hall. Vol VIII, *Correspondence Vol.II*. London. 1872. pp.221-222. ‘I have just turfed a little Bridgemannick theatre myself. It was done by a detachment of his workman from the Princess’s all at a stroke and it is yet unpaid for, but that is nothing with a poetical genius.’

¹²⁴ BL. Add. Ms 11511 includes the title: Langley, Batty. *New Principles of Gardening* London. 1728: Langley, Batty. *Pomona or the Fruit Garden* London. 1729: BL. C120.h.6.(6) ‘Nov. the 22 1736. Recu de Kensington par Morris the Religion of Nature delineated. 1 vol’

Paris in 1709. The Queen owned the edition published in 1713 under the synonym LSAUDA.¹²⁵

Nature, untamed, was seen as being an appropriate setting for virtuous endeavour and the contemplation of the great. It was thus the ideal environment for such monuments to intellectual genius, or in celebration of the ancient and venerable dignity of the royal house. A poem called 'On the Royal Grotto' published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* following their completion of the Kew worthies projects in 1735, contains a eulogy on the pleasures of the natural world within which Caroline had located her schemes. The Queen delighted in her fashionable 'picturesque' garden and was proud to claim 'I think I may say that I have introduced that, in keeping nature, not losing it in art' when Sir John Rushout complimented her on her ingenuity in December 1734.¹²⁶

The Queen continued to use Richmond Lodge as a favourite retreat until her death, and there is ample evidence to suggest that the Queen relished the gardens. It was a semi-private province in which the Queen could explore her theories and entertain her circle just as much as the small but comfortable house was an escape from the regular courtly round. This was the house to which she rushed with the newly discovered Holbein drawings and in its grounds she conducted her first gardening experiments. It is significant that it was within these gardens that the two pantheons were located. Peter Wentworth, Groom of the Bedchamber to Prince William Augustus, describes how he was instructed to arrange transport of 6 o'clock one morning 'to be kept a great secret'

¹²⁵ BL. Add. Ms. 11511 includes the title: LSAUDA. *La Théorie et la Pratique du Jardinage. Composé de Pareterres des Bosquets de Boulingrins etc* Paris 1713

for the Queen, Princess Mary and Mrs Purcell to travel to Kew where they had breakfast, picking the strawberries and cherries themselves from the gardens.¹²⁷

Taken as a whole, the gardens at Richmond with its pavilions and conceits acquire another significance as a proto-Trianon. Alongside the Hermitage and Merlin's Cave there were additional buildings, one of which served as a dairy, the other as a summerhouse. There was a duck pond, amphitheatre, and both a mount and a raised terrace walk from which views of the complex could be obtained. Bridgeman's plan of the estate can be found in the Topographical Collections at the British Library, and his first map in the National Archives.¹²⁸ The entire layout is also shown in a series of engravings by John Rocque.¹²⁹

It is evident that the Queen had ambitions further to enhance her 'Trianon'. A set of plans and elevations for a new 'royal lodge' at Richmond survive in the collection of drawings by Sir Edward Lovett Pearce.¹³⁰ Pearce the Surveyor General of Ireland died in 1733, and while the date of the project is not recorded, it seems reasonable to suggest that it was initiated in the early years of the new reign. Pearce's proposal was followed by a scheme devised by William Kent in 1735. A pearwood model of Kent's design of a new palace was made by a Mr Marsden of Vine Street, Westminster.¹³¹ This still survives.

¹²⁶ Egmont, John Perival. *Diary* op cit. Vol.II p.138

¹²⁷ Discussed in King, R. *Royal Kew* London. Constable. 1985. p.51:

¹²⁸ BL. King's Topographical Collections XLI 1613: TNA. Map Room 696

¹²⁹ TNA. Works 32/96. BL Maps K.Top.41.16.f. BL Maps K. Top.41.16.h

¹³⁰ Colvin, H and Craig, M. Ed. *Architectural Drawings in the Library of Elton Hall* Roxburghe Club. 1964. plates 74-76

In an earlier generation Queen Mary II, in the early 1690's, had created her Water Gallery, divided into large and small spaces, each dedicated to one or other of her interests, diversions and collections, and decorated appropriately. She was in her turn following in the footsteps of her aunts (by marriage) Louise Henriette, wife of the Elector Frederick William of Brandenburg Prussia who had built her pleasure palace, the Oranienburg Palace in Berlin, and Albertina Agnes of Nassau Dietz who created the Oranienstein at Koblenz. Queen

Caroline developed the concept on a far grander scale. This provided the opportunity for the collaboration between William Kent as architect and Charles Bridgeman as gardener to work most successfully. As J G Wynn writing in *London and Westminster Improved* noted 'Mr Kent who was the first who ventured to cut up the Dutch minced pie.....needed the practical experience and abilities of Bridgemen to help him translate his ideas into reality – his landscapes exist only as a series of sketches which he presumably left to others to recast as measured drawings'.¹³²

However there was little evidence at Kew of an obvious intellectual programme underpinning the architectural and gardening scheme as a whole or linking the sculptural programmes, as had been so carefully built into Lord Cobham's great project at Stowe, Burlington's work at Chiswick or in Pope's garden at Twickenham, all in construction concurrently with the royal project. Contemporary commentators report energetically on individual components of the Queen's scheme, but do not make comparisons between the

¹³¹ TNA. Works 4/15: *The London Daily Post and General Advertiser* 15 September 1735 : TNA. AO 1/2455/170

elements. Perhaps this results from the incremental way in which the Kew complex was constructed. Work to develop the garden commenced in 1719 over a decade before the first of the pavilions was constructed. The pavilions themselves were constructed several years apart, and as has been noted the Queen had plans for further additions.

The pavilions, as constructed and decorated, were very different in character, as well as in message and perhaps this serves as clue that the Queen had other aspirations for her project. Each building was small and designed for maximum dramatic effect. Each was set within its own environment through which the visitor would have to make their way, before happening, as if by surprise, on the folly densely packed with its individual intellectual message. For the visitor the experience would be theatrical and otherworldly. Perhaps Caroline has delighted in the eclectic and consciously seen the experience of Kew as a series of episodes. One could of course argue that this discontinuity simply resulted from the Queen's preoccupation with cash-flow or concern not to upset the King by indulgence in projects he felt were frivolous. The development of the Kew scheme might be seen simply as a catalogue of the Queen's succession of enthusiasms or her increasing confidence and therefore ambition. However, I consider the Queen's tenacity in augmenting and refining her schemes at Kew are ample demonstration of her continuing interesting and enthusiasm for this programme.

The visitors who came to Kew appear to have appreciated the Queen's serious and imaginative patronage of contemporary artists and architects and they admired the elegant restraint of the series of marble portrait busts she had commissioned of

¹³² Wynn, J.G. *London and Westminster Improved* London. 1766. p.62

contemporary scientists and thinkers – the portrait bust occupied a completely legitimate and established place within the contemporary canon of reference within the sphere of artistic representation. However her commissioning of the wax figures for the dramatic tableaux in Merlin's Cave appears was regarded as very curious. Commentators in the artistic and literary community found them alien despite the cerebral message contained within the project as a whole. Waxworks in England were seen as popular entertainment and while they were visited by the royal family, the aristocracy, and even members of the intellectual community, they were regarded at the best as curiosities, and more often as mere diversion.¹³³

Queen Caroline's figures were by Mary Salmon who Vertue noted employed Thomas Benière, to help her in her studio. Benière was of Huguenot ancestry and had experience in making anatomical models. His brother-in-law Abraham Simmonds also worked with wax, specialising in portraiture. Mrs Salmon's exhibition was described by Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach in 1710 'we drove also in the neighbourhood of St Martin le

¹³³ The incidence of waxworks as entertainment was not just a phenomenon of the early 18th century. Visitors to St Bartholomew's Fair as early as 1647 describe figures being exhibited as novelties. In 1685 the Lord Mayor's Book records that Jacob Schalek was given permission to take his waxwork exhibition round the City of London. An exhibition compiled by Miss Mills, which included figures of Charles II, William II and Mary II 'in full stature' was advertised in the 'Postman' in 1696. In 1710, von Uffenbach had also been very impressed and surprised at the 'more than a dozen' full length wax figures prepared by Mr de Puy, and installed in his house in London as an adjunct to his collection of rarities. They were deemed 'all made excellently and most natural'. The display included 'Cleopatra lying on a couch, clasping the asp to her bosom, opposite was a quite incomparable representation of her maid weeping. Her eyes were all swollen as if she had been crying them out, and tears were coursing down her cheeks, while she wrung her hands most piteously. Near by was Mark Anthony stabbing himself. There was also the whole of the well known story of the madness of Rosamund, the mistress of one of the English kings. She was represented kneeling before Queen Elionor, who was offering her rival either the dagger or the poisoned cup. The wounded King was lying near her, lying on the ground with a gash in his forehead. There was also Princess Sophia of Hanover, heiress of England when still young, sleeping by a table. On the other side was Queen Anne well made but flattered. There was a waiting woman and by the door a yeoman of the bodyguard who looked, most natural' Uffenbach, Zacharias Conrad von. *London in 1710 from the travels of Z.C von Uffenbach* Edited by W.H Quarrell and Margaret Mare. London. Faber and Faber. 1934. pp.80-85

Grand, to a certain Mistres Samons, who is famed throughout England for her skilful wax modelling, she showed us six rooms full of all kinds of wax figures, mostly life-size and representing ancient tales, especially English ones, though there is no need to describe them here in any detail. Suffice it to say that the work is tolerablethis woman appears to work only with moulds but we could see that the work is very accurate from the figure of the Queen as well as one of herself. She has represented herself holding a child in her lap.¹³⁴ Shortly after this the exhibition moved to Fleet Street.¹³⁵

It is interesting to note that Queen Caroline selected Mrs Salmon as her supplier of wax figures. While Mrs Salmon had few major rivals in London there was Mrs Goldsmith who operated from Green Court in the Old Jury whose work the Queen would also have encountered. In 1725 full-length figures of William III and Mary II, together with a figure of Queen Anne made by Mrs Goldsmith were set up in Westminster Abbey alongside her wax effigy of the Duchess of Richmond and Lennox commissioned in 1703 by the Duchess in her own lifetime. (Figures 44-45) These formed part of what came to be known as the 'Ragged Regiment'.¹³⁶ The Queen was undoubtedly aware of the

¹³⁴ Ibid p.118

¹³⁵ *The Spectator* April 2, 1711

¹³⁶ In both France and England there was since the early Middle Ages a tradition whereby a life-sized dressed effigy of the deceased monarch had a significant part to play in royal funeral rituals. It served as a symbol of the continuity of the monarchy, reinforcing the notion that the King lived on, even though the king was dead. In France the effigy was carried triumphantly through the streets of Paris, even as the grave side rituals were completed at St Denis. The practise was continued there until 1610, when broken by Louis XIII. In Britain the effigy was carried as part of the funeral cortege. As early as 1258 on the death of Henry III it was noted that the Royal Wardrobe was called upon to supply clothing for the figure comprising '...one dalmatic of red samite....one mantle of red samite.....a gold brooch, one pair of red samite, one pair of socks'. Following the ceremonies, it would appear that the effigies were left behind at the Abbey. The earliest survivor in this collection is that of Edward III who died in 1377. This is carved out of wood. The last effigy made within the tradition though probably not carried in procession was that of Charles II completed in 1685. The King's head and hands are made out of wax, and are probably the work of John Bushnell. The collection of historic effigies was augmented in about 1725 with waxworks representing

Westminster Abbey effigies. (Figures 46–47) The gilded railings which barred the entrance to the Hermitage had been carefully based on metalwork in the Abbey.¹³⁷ As the repair to the Westminster Abbey railings, made in 1735, was paid for by the Lord Chamberlain, there is every possibility that the Queen oversaw this work too.¹³⁸ She had also taken receipt of a cast of the head of Henry VII, which Baron Wainwright had discovered in Ireland, and had sent to her, convinced it was in some way connected to the Abbey figures.¹³⁹ The Abbey series contained many of the characters the Queen selected for the Library worthies series: in particular Edward II and Catherine of Valois, Elizabeth of York and Henry VII, Elizabeth I and Henry, Prince of Wales.

Another sculptor working in wax and operating in London was Matthew Gosset. On 13th March 1730–31 Lord Egmont records his visit to ‘Mr Gosset’s representation of the Court of France in wax, as big as life’ arranged in his studio in London.¹⁴⁰ He was very impressed and reports that they ‘were clothed in the habits of the Court of France, worn last year being given to him for that purpose’. Matthew Gosset (1683–1744) son of Jean Gosset, who had moved from France to Jersey in the late 17th century. Matthew would settle in Poland Street in London, and by 1728, when he was elected to the ‘Gentlemens or Spalding Society’ gave ‘statuary’ as his occupation. Many members of the family, Matthew’s brothers, his children, and his nephews, amongst whom was Isaac Gosset, became artists and favoured wax as a medium. Lord Egmont was part of circle with

members of the royal family more recently deceased. Displayed within wooden presses they achieved considerable success as a visitor attraction.

¹³⁷ Hervey, John, Baron. *Memoirs* edited Croker. op cit. Vol II. p.222

¹³⁸ TNA. Works 4/6. November 18, 1735. ‘Mr Pattison agreed to report and new fit up the two pair of small brass gates to Henry the 7th chappell for the sum of £75’.

¹³⁹ Sundon, Viscountess. *Memoirs* op cit. vol II. p.106: p.279

¹⁴⁰ Egmont, John Perival. *Diary* vol I. p.160

whom the Queen discussed her artistic projects and it is possible that she would also have been aware of Gosset's work. Could it be that the Queen chose Mrs Salmon because her exhibition was noted for its depictions of 'ancient tales, especially English ones'?

Members of Queen Caroline's family were certainly aware of waxworks as popular entertainment. Miss Dyves, Maid of Honour to Princess Amelia, wrote to her aunt in August 1725, reporting that 'the Prince of Wales and everyone but myself went last Friday to Bartholomew Fair....and came home about five in the morning'.¹⁴¹ Waxwork exhibitions were a regular component of the entertainment provided at the fair. A visit to Mrs Salmon must have made a good evening entertainment as 'The General Advertiser' noted on July 28th 1748, the Prince and Princess of Wales, attended by the Right Hon The Countess of Middlesex, the Earl of Bute and 'divers other persons of Distinction' had been to her exhibition in Fleet Street.¹⁴²

With respect to the commissioning of works of art in wax the English royal family had a tradition extending back to the 13th century when in 1272 it is recorded that a wax effigy had been made of Henry III.¹⁴³ In Van Der Doort's catalogue of the collection of Charles I there is note of a 'book of pictures in wax and gold and silver, which were Queene Anns of famous memory and in white wax King James at length crowned.....item more in carnation cullr wax upon a black plate King James crown'd.....' In 1684 Antoine Benoist, (1632-1717) wax worker to the French court, travelled to London from Paris to

¹⁴¹ Sundon, Viscountess. *Memoirs* op cit. vol I. p.121

¹⁴² *General Advertiser* July 28, 1748

¹⁴³ Discussed in Leslie, A. and Chapman, P. *Madame Tussaud. Waxworker Extraordinary* London. Hutchinson. 1970.

produce a wax portrait of James II, with additional figures to represent the British Court. According to Vertue another portrait of James II with his brother the Duke of York was made by the wax worker Abraham Simmonds.¹⁴⁴

However with the Westminster Abbey traditional line of king's subsumed by the early 18th century into a popular attraction and knowledge of any waxwork commissions on the part of the Stuart monarchs fading, I believe that Caroline's tableaux were conceived with a much greater affinity to models in Europe. There remained there a long and more illustrious tradition both for artists to work with the wax medium and for the construction of tableaux, both as a serious form of artistic representation as well as for entertainment and for education.

From the 15th century one finds that life-sized figure groups are a feature of the southern German crib tradition, and in painted wood, plaster and wax, similar figures populate the Piedmontese and Manchese 'Holy Mountain' sanctuaries at Varello, Oropa, Orta and Varese. (Figure 48) Members of many European royal houses shared an interest in the wax medium, and commissioned works from the best craftsmen they could locate. Menage in 1675 describes his visit to the waxwork collection of the Dukes of Tuscany, which contained portraits of the Duke, with members of his family. In Copenhagen, Queen Sophie Amalie included in her family portrait gallery half-length wax figures of family members from about 1670. (Figure 49) Peter the Great, noticed while visiting Louis XV at Versailles in 1717, the wax portraits members of the French royal family prepared for them by Benoist, their 'Peinture du Roi et son unique sculpture en cire

¹⁴⁴ Vertue *Notebooks* Vol. I. p.123

coloriée' in 1668. He determined to make his own icon and invited Carlo Bartolomeo Rastrelli (1670-1744), from Paris to St Petersburg in 1719, to construct a full-length wax figure which would eventually be dressed in clothes from his personal wardrobe.¹⁴⁵ In Dresden, Caroline's childhood home, Augustus the Strong, Elector of Saxony, and King of Poland (1670-1733) had a simular full length figure made of himself, dressed in heroic dress and holding replicas of the regalia of his Electorate and Kingdom. (Figure 50) Wax tableaux, of extraordinary workmanship, were commissioned by Cosimo III de Medici from 1691 from Gaetano Guilio Zumbo. Such a skilful worker in wax was evidently a very valuable asset, and it was only the death of Zumbo in 1701, which prevented his being enticed into the service of the kings of France. The wax medium was prized for the possibilities it provided for dramatic and theatrical representation. The particular properties of wax, when worked and coloured by a skilled practitioner, allow the recreation of the appearance and texture of flesh. The life size portrait waxes surviving in Dresden and Copenhagen have an almost photographic quality.

If Caroline's programme of worthies made in wax was calculated to emulate European courtly models it fell short of its objective. The project failed to catch the public imagination. If the Queen had sought to create a theatrical experience it fell short, either because the presentation was flawed, the message was too oblique or that it was too far from the expectations of its visitors. It would seem she had not been able, or had not taken time to identify any serious artist capable of working in wax to assist her with the project. Perhaps Mrs Salmon was in her opinion the best that London had to offer, and for

¹⁴⁵ The completed figure was described in great detail within the St Petersburg Academy in 1725, by Mr Stahlin-Storcksburg. Staehlin-Storcksburg, J von. *Original Anecdotes of Peter the Great selected from the*

propaganda reasons she may have considered it inappropriate to place a commission with a non-British artist. Mrs Salmon's work for the Queen did not stand public scrutiny.

When looking for the Queen's inspiration for the Hermitage and Merlin's Cave schemes it is easy to attribute to the Queen knowledge of the *viri illustri* and the 'Nine Heroes' traditions, to her European background. However in Britain the nine heroes had been adopted as a subject for artistic depiction just as enthusiastically. Richmond Palace was decorated for Henry VIII with a sculptural series of these traditional characters, and in 1520, the 'Nine Worthies Masque' was commissioned to entertain Francois I of France at the Field of the Cloth of Gold. I believe that the inclusion of King Arthur, one of the 'nine heroes' in the Merlin's Cave tableaux was part of Caroline and William Kent's own particular romantic vision for the rustic retreat.

Many commentators who had encountered the young Princess Caroline in Berlin, and at Herrenhausen mention the many hours she spent researching her family pedigree through the genealogical tables for the various royal houses of Europe. In Berlin, Herrenhausen and in Dresden her childhood home, there were well established family portrait series and it is not surprising to find the Queen putting together a worthies series in her library in celebration of her royal pedigree. It is interesting however to see that even given her European background Caroline's choice of royal hero consciously or unconsciously followed patterns established by her English royal predecessors..

In Britain the portrait series was also popular and by the early 17th century had likewise expanded to include images of family members. Anne of Denmark put together a collection of thirty-six portraits in her gallery at Greenwich. By the time Van der Doort produced his inventory of the collection of Charles I one might observe that the 'Privie Galerie' at Whitehall was filled with portraits of kings and queens. The entire succession was represented back to Edward III, with the absence only of Henry IV and Henry V. The series was balanced with images of key members of the royal houses of Hapsburg, Burgundy, Tuscany and Savoy.¹⁴⁶ His collection of miniatures, several which had been presented to him by Theophilus Howard, when he was Prince, was particularly strong in images of the Tudor dynasty. George Jameson was commissioned in 1633 to paint twenty-six portraits of Scottish kings for the Council in Edinburgh, to mark the visit of Charles I to the city. Jacob de Witt used at least ten of the Jameson portraits as models for his own series of one hundred and eleven Scottish kings made for Charles II for the Palace of Holyroodhouse 1685.

When it came to the veneration of particular individuals Charles I had selected Edward III and the Black Prince as well as Edward IV as his heroes in a scheme commemorating the foundation of the Order of the Garter, for which Van Dyck provided a design. In 1683, John Evelyn visiting the new works undertaken for Charles II at Windsor Castle reported 'That which was new at Windsor since I was last there and was surprising to me was the incomparable fresco painting in St George's Hall, representing the legend of St George and the Triumph of the Black Prince, and his reception of Edward III....Verrio's

¹⁴⁶ Walpole Society. *Abraham van der Doort's Catalogue of the Collections of Charles I* Edited with an introduction by Oliver Millar. Walpole Society 37. Glasgow. Walpole Society. 1960. p.138

work is admirable'¹⁴⁷ However, on Caroline's arrival in London there was no obvious royal portrait series she could appropriate or embellish. An examination of the picture lists made for the royal residences during the reign of William III and Mary II shows the massive impact of the dispersal of the royal collections in 1647. As will be discussed in chapter 2 there was a scattering of royal portraits but not enough to allow the creation of an integrated historic programme, and until Caroline intervened there does not seem to have been an attempt to do so. Nevertheless, when Caroline compiled her list of monarchs for her library worthies series it is interesting that she included the monarchs singled out in the Windsor frescoes, the only series which had survived relatively intact. No doubt she felt this would serve to reinforce even more strongly the continuity of the royal line.

An English tradition within the royal family for the commemoration of contemporary heroes is harder to establish. When they are found, the collections have often been compiled by those with an awareness of European tradition. Henry, Prince of Wales was presented with a set of portraits of notable contemporary Italians by the government of Florence in 1611. The series included Machievelli, Castruccio and Pica della Mirandola. Prince George of Denmark chose to hang fourteen portraits of his Admirals in the Queen's Gallery at Kensington Palace following the death of William III in 1702. However, for veneration of the contemporary or near contemporary worthy one has to look to projects undertaken by aristocrats. The Queen's series of contemporary worthies made for the Hermitage is likely to have been developed in the knowledge of Lord

¹⁴⁷ Evelyn, John. *Diary* Edited Dobson op cit. Vol. III. p.96-97

Burlington's work at Chiswick House and Lord Cobham's early work for his garden at Stowe.¹⁴⁸

It is not possible to stress enough the importance of contemporary English artistic and literary thought in conditioning the form of the Queen's worthies projects. Immediately following her arrival in London Caroline had sought to make her own contacts with these communities. Not only did she invite many people to Leicester House, and later Kensington Palace, St James's Palace and Richmond, as has been discussed, but she also visited them in their own homes. Her passion for this so worried her husband, George II, he declared to Lord Hervey 'what matter that she sees a collection or not you do not see me running into every puppys house'¹⁴⁹ Accounts of the visits, often made in the company of her children, were recorded to Chiswick House, Claremont, Clivedon, Gubbin's in Hertfordshire, Orleans House, and Sir Robert Walpole's House in Arlington Street.

The *Political State of Great Britain* records that the Queen, with the Prince of Wales and the rest of her children, called on, and were entertained at Claremont by the Duke of Newcastle on August 1729. Clivedon belonging to the George Hamilton the first Earl of Orkney (1696-1739) received a visit from the Queen a little earlier in July 1729.¹⁵⁰ The Queen and the three eldest princesses did not visit Gubbins, the home of Mr Jeremy

¹⁴⁸ Rysbrack's full length statues of Palladio and Inigo Jones were commissioned by Lord Burlington, and placed outside the Bagnio completed in 1717. Rysbrack's busts of Milton, Shakespeare, Locke, Newton, Bacon, Elizabeth I, William III and Hampden were completed for Richard Temple, Viscount Cobham's Temple of Fame in the Western Garden at Stowe between 1729-1730.

¹⁴⁹ Hervey, John. *Memoirs* Edited Croker. op cit. vol II. pp.223-224

¹⁵⁰ *Political State of Great Britain* vol.XXXVIII August 1729 p.191

Sambrook until July, 1732.¹⁵¹ All these houses had important gardens in the fashionable 'picturesque' style. They were all the work of the Queen's gardener, Charles Bridgeman, who had worked at Claremont in 1728, Cliveden in 1723-4, and at Gubbins probably in the 1720's, and it is compelling to suggest that he may have encouraged her to select these houses for her visits over other choices, and may have even have facilitated the Queen's plans.

The Queen with her background in the 'Le Notre' school of gardening as practised at Herrenhausen felt sufficiently unconfident of her own ideas about garden design and sufficiently interested in contemporary initiatives that she convened a discussion forum in 1719 of leading garden theorists before embarking on plans for her new garden at Richmond. Alexander Pope wrote to Lord Bathurst describing the event 'several criticks were of several opinions. One declar'd he would have much art in it, for my notion (said he) of gardening is that it is only sweeping nature; another told them that gravel walks were not a good taste, for all the finest abroad were of loose sand; a third advis'd peremptorily there should not be one lyme-tree in the whole plantation; a fourth made the same exclusive clause extend to Horse Chestnuts, which he affirmed not to be trees, but weeds; Dutch elms were condemned by the fifth, and thus half the trees were prescribed contrary to the paradise of God's own planting, which is expressly said to be planted without trees. There were some who cou'd not bear Ever-greens and called them Never-greens, some who were angry at them only when cut in shapes, and gave the modern gard'ners the name of Ever-green Taylors, some who had no dislike of cones and cubes,

¹⁵¹ *Gentleman's Magazine* July 1732. p.874

but wou'd have 'em in forest trees; and some who were in a passion against anything in shape even against clipt hedges which they call'd green walls.'¹⁵²

Through this gardening conference the Queen established links with many individuals who may have conditioned the way her projects were constructed. Allen, Lord Bathurst (1684-1775) who had worked on the garden at Marble Hill House for Henrietta Howard with Bridgeman in 1724, had constructed a sham castle in his park at Cirencester which like Caroline he named after King Arthur, and later in 1725 re-christened Alfred's Hall. (Figure 51) On the circular lawn arranged in front of the Hall he held country dances in just the same way as Caroline had arranged country sports in the gardens at Hampton Court in 1716.¹⁵³ Alexander Pope (1688-1744) was another powerful personality she encountered on this occasion.

The Queen was bold in her decisions regarding the gardens. She followed hard on the heels of Lord Bathurst in planting of areas of 'forest garden' and was only just pipped to the post in incorporating a turf amphitheatre. (Figures 52-53) She allowed fields or corn to be planted in her park at Richmond, and almost got away with allowing dead trees to be planted in the gardens at Kensington. The creation of the 'picturesque' garden at Richmond predates the building of the two pavilions, and as has been discussed would have conditioned her approach in commissioning both the buildings and the respective worthies series they housed.

¹⁵² Alexander Pope to Lord Bathurst 13 September 1719 quoted in Pope, Alexander. *The Works of Alexander Pope* Edited by J.W. Croker. Introduction and notes by W Elwin and W.J. Courthorpe. 8 Vol. London. John Murray. 1872. Vol.VIII. pp.327-329

¹⁵³ *Saturday Post* 29 September 1716

The Queen's patronage of William Kent was another important factor which influenced the form her projects took. He was known in the intimate royal circle as 'Il Signor', 'Kentino' or 'Kentissimo'. He was held in such esteem that the Countess of Burlington in 1733 could write to a friend 'Tuesday.....if the Signor is with you pray tell him that I saw last night a book published by I Ware with Ripley's name to his designs upon the Queen's table in the Gallery'¹⁵⁴ In 1735 he was paid £450 to undertake the painting of the Queen's Stair at Hampton Court. The same year it was considered essential that Kent check over the 'Queen's Book' which was being prepared by Mr Elliot, before it was considered appropriate to return the book to the Queen.¹⁵⁵

William Kent seems to have been introduced to George I by Vice Chamberlain Coke in about 1722. Vertue in describing Kent's early work on the Cupola Room at Kensington Palace, noted that the scheme made by the Surveyor of the Works William Benson and the Serjeant Painter Sir James Thornhill was considered overpriced. 'Being by Vice Chamberlain Coke thought too extravagant and so represented to the King – he without more ado takes Mr Kent to Kensington and ask'd what he would have for the same painting to be done'.¹⁵⁶ Having completed the Kensington Palace project very successfully Kent was appointed Master Carpenter in 1726. The Queen would have been aware of his work at Kensington Palace. With Kent's continued involvement with projects for the Queen at Kew, the Banqueting House, Whitehall, Windsor and Hampton Court, it is inconceivable that she had not followed the early projects with interest. Kent

¹⁵⁴ Althorp B8 1733

¹⁵⁵ Chatsworth 127.6.18 Sept 1735

was eventually appointed as Deputy Surveyor in 1735. His career mirrors that of Guelphi, who had been introduced into the royal circle by Lord Burlington, and had worked for George I, before being taken up by Queen Caroline.

When building work on his Hermitage for Caroline began, Kent had already completed an almost identical building for Richard Temple, Viscount Cobham (c1669-1749) at Stowe. (Figure 54) Even though Bridgeman had worked for Cobham too as early as 1714, it is much more likely that Kent was the agency by whom the Queen was briefed about the worthies which Lord Cobham had commissioned from Rysbrack. When the Queen commissioned her first sculptural series from Guelphi shortly after, she included John Locke and Sir Isaac Newton in her list, just as Cobham had.

While working at Stowe from about 1730, Kent worked with Michael Rysbrack once again, following their earlier combined project at Kensington Palace for George I in the early 1720's. A bust of Queen Elizabeth I was part of the sculptural programme Rysbrack completed for Cobham in 1729-1730, almost a decade before the Queen's request for a similar item. Cobham's example was made initially for the Temple of Fame, but was later moved to the Temple of British Worthies (Figure 55). As has been noted it is likely that Kent suggested to Caroline that she should consider employing Rysbrack as her sculptor for the last of her sets of worthies following the death of Guelphi.

It is interesting to observe how between the waxwork programme in Merlin's cave and the commissioning of her last set of worthies for the library, the Queen, in her choice of

hero as father of the nation, switches her allegiance from romantic mythical Arthur, the chivalric hero, of European tradition to the patriot King Alfred with his undisputed archaeological reality. On her arrival in London, she will have become aware of the Whiggish promotion of King Alfred as a British kingly role model. The fact that the Alfred propaganda is directed towards her eldest son Frederick, may have made Caroline all the more anxious to draw the Saxon king into her own schemes as the two were passionate rivals in the sphere of artistic patronage. It is almost impossible to say whether Rysbrack started work on his 'Alfred' for the Queen, before Frederick ordered his version for the garden at Carlton House.

The response to the Queen's worthies projects varied tremendously. The Hermitage met with almost universal approval. The *Gentleman's Magazine* even devised a competition for poems written in its honour. (Appendix 1) The Queen was applauded for her assumption of the role of promoter and protector of the arts. She appeared to satisfy completely the plea for a re-birth of interest in the arts made by Jonathan Richardson in 1715 as part of the national debate led by Anthony Ashley Cooper, third Earl of Shaftesbury, the Whig party philosopher, anticipating the benefits of Hanoverian succession: 'If our nobility and gentry were lovers of Painting and connoisseurs, a much greater treasure of paintings drawn up and antiques would be brought in, which would contribute abundantly to the raising and ameliorating of taste, as well as the improvement of our artists'.¹⁵⁷ In 1712 Lord Shaftesbury had written to Lord Somers calling for a real

¹⁵⁷ Discussed in Brett, R.L. *The Third Earl of Shaftesbury. A Study in Eighteenth Century Literary Theory* London. Hutchinson University Library. 1951. pp.165-207

effort to be made to 'render united Britain the principal seat of the arts'.¹⁵⁸ Her choice in commissioning a series of marble portrait busts for the Hermitage was particularly remarked upon. The *Gentleman's Magazine* would note with some surprise that it was 'an ingenious foreigner' had brought honour onto the British court by taking 'statuary into her protection'.¹⁵⁹ *The Free Briton* in August 1733, likened her patronage with the state patronage of the ancients:

The schools of antiquity which have left us the noblest monuments of antient genius in statuary
And sculpture arise in the Free Commonwealth where the state itself was the Patron and
Rewarder of Science.

It is revealing that the medal presented to those who participated in the goldsmith, Henry Jernegan's lottery for a splendid silver cistern in 1736 has an image on the reverse of Caroline as nurturer of the arts standing in a garden watering young palm trees. It bears the legend 'Growing Arts adorn Empire. Caroline protecting'.¹⁶⁰ (Figure 56)

There was great public approval for her selection of an entirely British pantheon. *The London Journal* commented 'when Her Majesty consecrated these dead heroes.....she built herself a temple in the hearts of the People of Britain who will by this instance of her love of liberty and public virtue, think their interests safe in the hands of the Government as their own'.¹⁶¹ The *Gentleman's Magazine* noted in her choice 'her particular affection for this country and the natives of Great Britain' and added pointedly 'her own Leibnitz is not allowed a place there'.

¹⁵⁸ Ashley Cooper, Anthony, 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury. *Second Characters, or the Language of Forms* Edited by Benjamin Rand. Cambridge. Cambridge University Press. 1914. pp.19-20

¹⁵⁹ *Gentleman's Magazine* August 1733 p.421

¹⁶⁰ The design of the Jernegan medal was made by Gravelot. The dies were cut by John Sigismund Tanner

The Queen's work in the gardens at Richmond was applauded. It was felt that she had created an appropriate setting for her monument celebrating the greatest of British intellectual endeavour. There was an appreciation that the settings enhance the message promoted with in the Hermitage in particular. The 'temple sacred to honour and virtue' dedicated to men who were the 'glory of their country' was given additional dignity. Commentators seemed to grasp that within a rural environment the Hermitage's message extolling the virtue of natural religion was made real and explicit. Only in a few instances were her decisions questioned. There was just one commentator in the *Gentleman's Magazine* who found the installation of gilded railing across the front of the Hermitage curious, and inexplicable. He had failed to understand the subtle messages created by this juxtaposition of the rustic and the ornate, native wit and sophistication.

The Hermitage worthies were preserved, but the Hermitage itself dismantled in the 1750's to make space in Augusta, Princess of Wales's new 'landscape' garden at Kew. There was little public comment. Frederick, Prince of Wales was already planning his own pantheon, which followed a different programme from his mother's. In 1751 work started on his 'Mount Parnassus' in the grounds of the White House in Kew. His worthies were to be Edward III, King Alfred, Locke, Newton, Raleigh, Milton, Shakespeare, Vanbrugh and Pope. Inside the pantheon there were niches in which additional busts of contemporary man of art and letters were paired with a counterpart from Antiquity.¹⁶²

¹⁶¹ Sundon, Viscountess *Memoirs* op cit. vol II. p.139

Merlin's Cave was almost universally criticised. Most seem baffled by its symbolism. The plethora of explanations concerning the identity of the waxworks attest to the degree of confusion, even after Sarah Big, the Necessary Woman was deputed to give guided tours. The messages were carried in a choice of characters far too esoteric for most commentators or visitors. Some scoffed at its mystical connotations, and the equation made between Merlin and the Duncan Campbell, whose reputation, after all, was for foretelling the names of future bridegrooms, in this monument celebrating the antiquity and continuity of the British royal line. The *Craftsman* described the building dismissively as 'an old haystack thatch'd over' The waxwork tableaux were regarded as very curious. It appeared to have been dramatically unconvincing and perhaps too alien for its audience. Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough wrote to her granddaughter Diana in August 1735 'it is too long to give you an account of a most curious comical description, which I had yesterday of what is called Merlin's cave at Richmond, which they say is ten thousand times more ridiculous than what was done for the philosophers. Merlin it seems was a Welsh conjuror.....and there are a great many strange puppets dressed up in it.'¹⁶³ George II heartily disapproved. He called the project 'childish silly stuff' and on being informed that the *Craftsman* had abused it too said 'it is the first time I ever knew the scoundrel in the right'.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶² Raphael- Apelles, Handel-Timotheus, Inigo Jones-Vitruvius, Lod Cobham-Lucillus, Corneille-Sophocles, Racine-Euripedes, Congreve-Aristophanes, Jonson-Plautus, Moliere-Terence

¹⁶³ Churchill, Sarah. *Letters of a Grandmother* op cit. pp.171-172.

¹⁶⁴ Hervey, John Baron. *Memoirs* Edited Croker. op cit. p.222

Merlin's Cave was gently lamented when dismantled by 'Capability' Brown in the 1770's in the course of creating a new garden for Queen Charlotte. One commentator, William Mason wrote in 1770 an 'Heroic Epistle' to mark its demise:

To Richmond come, for see untutor'd brown
 Destroy those wonders which were once their own
 Lo! From this melonground the peasant slave
 Has rudely rush'd and level'd Merlins Cave
 Knock'd down the waxen wizard, seized his wand
 Transform'd to lawn what late was fairy land
 And marr'd with imperious hand each sweet design
 Of Stephen Duck and good Queen Caroline¹⁶⁵

Just a few remnants of masonry remained by the early 19th century. There is no record of the fate of the waxworks. Stephen Duck took holy orders, and became chaplain to the Brigade of Dragoon Guards before moving to a living at Byfleet. He committed suicide in 1755. The great legacy of the Cave was to influence the design of garden pavilions and follies. In 1743 Paul Decker included in his *Gothic Architecture Decorated* designs for both summer and winter hermitages. (Figure 57) Both were round structures with conical thatched roofs resembling those of the Cave, and as early as 1737, Mary Granville, Mrs Delany was boasting about her 'thatched temple'.¹⁶⁶ A splendid example dating from c1740-1750 survives at Brocklesby Park in Lincolnshire. (Figure 58) The Cave and Merlin also left their mark on popular entertainment. In 1739 Frederick and his wife, Augusta visited the Crown Coffee House to see a representation called 'Merlin in Miniature' showing him in his cave and 'were extremely delighted with the surprising performance of that curious piece'.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁵ Mason, William *An Heroic Epistle to Sir William Chambers* 2nd edition. London. 1773

¹⁶⁶ Granville, Mary, Mrs Delany. *Autobiography* op cit. Series 1. Vol. II. p.5

The library worthies failed to attract any public notice, as the Queen died before the series had been completed. It was some time later that the busts which had been completed were installed in her new building without any publicity. There are few references to the completed scheme, probably because after the death of the Queen links between the artistic community and George II broke down due to of the King's lack of interest. The library was demolished in 1825 to make way for the Duke of York's new house and the busts were moved to store, where sadly the majority were destroyed.

Caroline's worthies programmes failed to achieve any lasting success as being fashionable, they fell out of fashion. They became victims of political rivalries both within the royal family and the broader court circle. Their messages were personal, complex, and for many difficult to decipher. Few were prepared to promote and protect the schemes actively once the Queen was dead.

¹⁶⁷ *Daily Post* June 15. 1739

CHAPTER 2

QUEEN CAROLINE AND 'THE GREATEST STORE OF PORTRAITS OF THE ENGLISH'

This chapter explores Queen Caroline's more conventional exercise in celebration of the British royal pedigree which was the creation of the picture closet at Kensington Palace. George Vertue claimed later this was to become 'the greatest store of portraits of the English'.¹⁶⁸

Within Quiccheberg's museological encyclopedia *Inscriptiones vel Tituli* of 1565, based on the tenets of Pliny, the five categories of artifacts he lays down as essential for the well rounded collection include a painting or sculptural series celebrating the pedigree of the collector. This recommendation was reinforced in Major's work *Kunst und Naturalien Kammern* published in Kiel in 1674 and one of its eight chapters comprised instructions for the compiling of a dynastic portrait series. In the parallel category of princely literature which included a treatise by Gabriel Kaltemarcht for Christian I of Saxony in 1587, the responsibility of a ruler to foster and encourage an appreciation of the arts and sciences is discussed and the educational value of collections stressed. The dynastic sculpture or picture series again emerges as a very important component.

In northern Italy the tradition of compiling collections of painted portraits was established by the early 16th century, in lettered rather than aristocratic circles. Paolo Giovio (1483-1557?) Bishop of Nocera formed a collection of historic portraits at Como. It was

apparent in this that the Bishop's admiration for the subjects of the painting was greater than his appreciation of their artistic merit, or concern about their attribution. The collection achieved great notoriety, and was published in various versions between 1546 and 1567 as *Descriptio Musaei*. It was copied by Cristofano dell'Atissimo for Cosimo I de Medici in 1532, and later for Ippolita Gonzaga and Archduke Ferdinand of the Tyrol for Ambras Castle. The composition of the collection appealed to them by the way it fell in closely with the prescriptions of early museological literature, but also derived its rationale from the equally distinguished tradition of the veneration of the 'nine heroes' and the 'viri illustri'.

Queen Caroline's European upbringing would have left her well aware of the genealogical portrait tradition. As has been noted following the death of her father, John Frederick, Margrave of Brandenburg Anspach in 1686, she had spent several years in Dresden after her mother Eleonore Saxe-Eisenach married John George IV of Saxony. The Electors of Saxony had maintained an extensive *Kunstammer* in Dresden since about 1560. It was founded by Augustus I and though the collection of portraits and the royal armoury collections never reached the encyclopaedic scale of the collections of Archduke Ferdinand of the Tyrol at Ambras Castle it still fell in line with contemporary museological practise.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁸ Vertue. *Notebooks* op cit. Vol.V. p.23.

¹⁶⁹ Archduke Ferdinand of the Tyrol's collection in the *Spanischen Saal* at Ambras Castle eventually contained over a thousand images starting in antiquity moving through the founders of the royal house of Austria, and completed with portraits of present members of the house.

On her mother's death in 1696, Caroline was taken under the guardianship of Elector Frederick III of Brandenburg, and moved to Berlin. While in Berlin Caroline had access to the important picture collection established by the Electress Sophie Charlotte.

In 1705 after accepting the marriage proposal from George Augustus, Electoral Prince of Hanover Caroline moved to Herrenhausen in Hanover and was brought into contact with the collections amassed and maintained by the Electress Sophia, the mother of Sophie Charlotte of Brandenburg. The Electress Sophia had first employed the philosopher Leibnitz as researcher into the history of the House of Brunswick. This work seems to have been regarded as so important to this aspiring dynasty, drawn into British politics in the late 17th century following the Act of Settlement, that Leibnitz's pension continued to be paid by the Electress's son, George Louis, later King George I. The subject of his study was taken up by Caroline too, as many contemporary commentators mention. She spent much time not only looking into Hanoverian family ancestry constructing complex genealogical tables, but also extended her work to the family pedigrees of other royal houses of Europe. Lord Hervey noted that the George II and Queen Caroline in their off duty moments 'for an hour or two before they went to bed', talked of armies, or genealogy while the Queen 'knotted and yawned'.¹⁷⁰ Vertue noticed that at Kensington Palace below stairs there was a 'family piece painted in oil, Frederick Elector and his princess sitting at a table and his son, a boy – at the end. Many figures & the arms of the Elector joyn'd with those of England at the bottom. Van Bassan pinx'. Vertue remarked that Queen Caroline had researched and supplied the identification of the subjects and

¹⁷⁰ Hervey, John Baron *Memoirs* edited Croker. op cit. Vol. I. p.28

also had compiled the set of Stuart/Hanoverian portraits in the State Drawing Room at Hampton Court Palace.

While the enthusiasm with which Caroline tackled genealogical research, compiled her collection of dynastic portraits, and commissioned the various sculptural series discussed earlier to celebrate her royal ancestors and her heroes may be unusual, other members of her extended family including her female relatives, had also been touched by the same formative influences and made their own more limited programmes. It is revealing that in the inventory of the goods and chattels made in 1731 on the death of the Countess Dorothea Friederike of Hanau Lichtenberg, Caroline's half-sister, within her 'Little Cabinet' there was a significant collection of family portraits.¹⁷¹ Caroline's interest was swiftly transmitted to those in her new female circle in London. Charlotte Clayton, Lady Sundon, appointed as a Women of the Bedchamber following Caroline's arrival in London in 1714, was responsible for compiling the volume later sold as Lot 296 in the sale of the Fermor-Hesketh Library from Easton Neston on 15th December, 1999. This comprised a large volume of the 'Heraldry and Royal Household, the names and Arms of all those who have attended Her majesty Queen Caroline since her arrival in England Septer 11. 1714. Accounts with emblazoned coats of arms of Queen Caroline and Grooms of the Stole, Ladies of the Bedchamber, Maids of Honour and all dignitaries and servants'.

¹⁷¹ StA Marburg Best 81 A Reg. Hanau Nr 8 transcribed in Löwenstein, Uta. 'Apartment of the Countess Dorothea Friederike von Hanau-Lichtenberg at her death in the year 1731'. Unpublished article. pp.1-32

In Britain as elsewhere in Europe the painted portrait series had proved popular within royal circles. Inventories made for Henry VIII between 1542 and 1547 indicate that portraits of Henry V, Henry VI, Edward IV and Richard II had been preserved or more likely had been copied from standard portrait types, to record notable royal antecedents with particular import for the Tudor dynasty, glorifying and reinforcing their pedigree. These images were brought together with portraits of key rulers from the Burgundian and Hapsburg regimes; Philip the Good, Philip the Handsome, Margaret of Savoy, Joanna of Castille, Charles I and Louis XII of France. Some of these portraits had been acquired as gifts which were traditionally exchanged between monarchs. Marriage negotiations could also result in the commissioning or acquiring the image of the respective candidates and thus Holbein's full length portrait of Christina of Denmark had arrived in London when she was being considered as a potential bride for Henry VIII. Titian's portrait of Philip II of Spain was sent to Mary I.

These works, together with other contemporary portraits, such as the images of Elizabeth I - both her portrait as a teenager, and the 'Queen Elizabeth with Three Goddesses' are recorded for the first time in the royal inventory of 1597 and were hung as a series in the Queen's Gallery in Greenwich by Queen Anne of Denmark. James I introduced into the collection images of his Scottish forebears, including the portrait of Lord Darnley painted by Eworth in 1555 and the portrait of Darnley with his brother Charles, painted in 1563, There was also a little portrait of James himself at the age of five painted probably by Arnold Bronckorst. It was however, Henry, Prince of Wales, the eldest son of James I and Queen Anne, who drew the portrait collection to a higher plain. By the second

decade of the 17th century he had amassed thirty two images of European rulers. The portraits of Archduke Albert and his wife Isabella, rulers of the Spanish Netherlands, by Otto van Jean, presented to James I, were included together with those of Philip III of Spain and his Queen by Juan Pantoja de las Cruz presented in 1605. The collection hung both in the Prince's Gallery in St James's Palace, and in the Cross Gallery at Somerset House. Prince Henry's impetus for this project was an aspiration to create in England a princely collection of the kind drawn together by other royal and noble families throughout Europe during the last decades of the 16th century.

When Prince Henry died suddenly in 1612 his brother Charles continued the programme with enthusiasm extending its scale and scope. The Wilton Diptych entered the collection during his reign, as a gift from Sir James Palmer, no doubt encouraged by the young King's interest. It was at Charles I's instruction that Nicholas Lanier and Daniel Nys negotiated the purchase of paintings from the Gonzaga family in Mantua. The discussions concerning the first consignment were concluded in 1627, those for the second consignment in 1628. On their arrival in London Charles I chose to hang Titian's seven painting of emperors together in the Gallery at St James's, with the seven smaller portraits by Giulio Romano of emperors on horseback. According to van der Doort, Keeper of the King's Cabinet Room, there were fifty four royal portraits in the Cabinet Room at Whitehall representing the English royal family and members of the most notable royal dynasties in Europe. The *Privie Galerie* at Whitehall was also filled with portraits of kings and queens. There, with the exception of only Henry IV and Henry V, the entire English succession was represented back to Edward III. Van der Doort also

describes a folio in the King's collection, acquired before his accession from the Duc de Liancourt. 'Item one Booke with.....Pictures by the life don in dry Cullors of the Cheifest Nobility and Familys then at the tyme in Ffrance, where at the end are drawings'.¹⁷² Charles I also collected miniatures, cameos and medals and the van der Doort's catalogue of the Cabinet Room compiled in 1636 describes eighty portrait miniatures of members of the royal family systematically arranged. Van der Doort notes that two frames contained respectively seven portraits of monarchs and their consorts from Henry VII to Queen Elizabeth I, and eight portraits of the descendents of Mary, Queen of Scots. A frame of eight miniatures of Tudor monarchs and their consorts sold to Bass in 1651 subsequently entered the collection of the Duke of Buccleuch and still survives.

Charles I was responsible for drawing into the collection images of contemporary worthies and heroes. He had acquired the portrait of Erasmus by Holbein as a gift from Sir Andrew Newton, his brother Prince Henry's tutor. Charles's sister, Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia sent a second portrait of Erasmus by Vissoner. It was at this time that Holbein's portrait of Derich Born arrived in the collection.

However with the execution of Charles I in 1649 most of his collection was dispersed. It was not until the Bill of Pardon, Indemnity and Oblivion of 21 August 1660 that the House of Lords started the process of rebuilding the royal collection with the appointment of a committee to 'consider and receive information where any of the King's

¹⁷² Walpole Society. *Abraham van der Doort's Catalogue of the Collections of Charles I* op cit. pp.125 - 138. In the Print Room at Windsor Castle there is a group of twelve drawings by Clouet and Francois

goods, jewels or pictures are; and to advise some course how the same may be restored to his Majesty'. Colonel William Hawley, Colonel William Anselm and Colonel Hercules Lowe were employed by the committee to lay hold of declared and concealed goods. In 1660, Emmanuel de Critz, son of the former Sergeant Painter and John Webb, nephew of Inigo Jones, the Surveyor of the King's Works, put together an inventory of items. In the Privy Gallery at Whitehall there were already 'twenty eight Kings and Queen's in small' which had been retrieved with the help of George Geldorp lately in the service of Anne of Denmark and thus familiar with the early Stuart royal collection.

Charles II made his own contribution by commissioning Jacob de Witt to produce a series of one hundred and eleven painted portraits of Scottish kings for the Palace of Holyroodhouse in 1685. At least ten of the twenty-six portraits of Scottish kings which had been painted earlier by George Jameson in 1633, for the Council in Edinburgh, to mark the visit of Charles I to the city were used as models. Verrio's work for the King at Windsor Castle included new wall paintings for St George's Hall. For this space used for the most solemn ceremonial occasions the King selected conspicuously British royal subjects which were described by John Evelyn in 1683. 'That which is new at Windsor since I was last there and was surprising to me was the incomparable fresco painting in St George's Hall, representing the legend of St George and the Triumph of the Black Prince and his reception by Edward III....Verrio's innovation is admirable, his ordonnance full and flowing, antique and heroical'.¹⁷³

Quesnel which may be survivors from this volume.

¹⁷³ Evelyn, John. *Diary* Edited .Dobson. op cit.Vol. III. pp.96-97

William III made few additions to the royal collection, but did make an effort to draw together portraits of Henry VII and Henry VIII with their Queen's in his library at Kensington Palace together with nine philosophers heads in brass. Portraits of 'Edward I' and 'Queen Elizabeth at half length' attributed to Holbein could be found in his great closet in 1697.¹⁷⁴ The room called the 'Closet above stairs' was furnished with a multitude of smaller works by Holbein as well as Italian masters.

In 1714 the Treasury papers record that the sum of £1.15s had been spent on a painting of King Arthur in the previous year, a surprising commission to be made by Queen Anne, not noted for her interest in art. She was however deeply concerned with the reinforcing of her pedigree. During the sisterly rivalry with Queen Mary II and the uneasy years following Mary's death, when Anne's brother in law, William III continued as monarch, the Jacobean threat remained ever present, and Anne had consistently drawn parallels with her position and that of the young Elizabeth I. On her accession she chose to model her coronation robes on those worn by Elizabeth I. On receipt of the painting of King Arthur there was a second payment for enlarging it which suggests that the painting was considered worth investing in to customize it for its new venue.¹⁷⁵

George I despite his lack of success in the mastering of the English language, and frequent Hanoverian sojourns following his accession, was very concerned to reinforce his rights under the Act of Succession. There were ambitious plans to enlarge several

¹⁷⁴ BL Harley MS 7025 ff.189-194. 'A List of his Majesty's Pictures as they are now placed in Kensington House 1697.

¹⁷⁵ TNA. T1/228 May-Sept 1720. 12 July 1714: TNA.T1/228 May-Sept 1720. June 29th 1713 'Prince Arthur 1.15. 1713 July 30th for enlarging a picture of King Arthur 8s'

royal palaces, with some of the schemes such as that at Kensington Palace being partially undertaken. The state apartments were significantly re-modelled, and three new 'great rooms' constructed and decorated. These were intended to provide suitable settings for royal ceremonial, the levée and the drawing room. The Cupola Room at the heart of the new development was dominated by a ceiling painted with a design incorporating the insignia of the Order of the Garter.

It is not until the 1720's that indications of picture movements can be found. In September 1721 Sir John Evelyn visiting Kensington noticed that amongst the paintings 'a very good one of Henry VIII when in the flower of his age' and Holbein's portraits of Erasmus and his printer had been introduced.¹⁷⁶ During the last years of his life, George I paid considerable attention to the hanging of paintings in his three recently completed state rooms, and in the rooms adjacent which had been substantially remodelled and redecorated. As William Kent put final touches to the new ceiling in the King's Gallery, the King visited the site accompanied by the Housekeeper, Henry Lowman. Lowman subsequently sent to Vice Chamberlain Coke an account of what had happened. 'I desired Milord Hertford to ask his Majesty to see the pictures as were designed for the Gallery: upon which the King came in and saw the Basan from Windsor, and the picture of Paolo Veronese you intended to send back to Windsor, thinking it not good enough for the Gallery, and that of Shiky (?) to go with it to make the Windsor Gallery good. All which his Majesty approved of, but asked what should be done with the picture of King Charles with his Queen and children. I said I hoped it would remain where it hung. His Majesty

¹⁷⁶ Christchurch, Oxford. Diary of Sir John Evelyn. 8 May 1721, 11 October, 1729

went though the whole and was well pleased with the Gallery'.¹⁷⁷ In 1729 John Evelyn returned to Kensington Palace and recorded his impression of the 'new finisht' arrangements in the Gallery 'the ceiling is gilded and painted by Mr Kent, the cornice carved and gilded. It is hung with crimson damask. On the side opposite to the windows hang large pictures of Tintoret, Bassan etc. At one end is Charles I on a white horse under an arch, and at the other the Duke of d'Olivares also on horseback, both by Vandike. On the window side are modern marble figures on five pedestals of oriental agate and silver sconces over'.¹⁷⁸

However, King George I's collecting was generally conventional. His taste, in line with many of his European counterparts was for Italian 16th and 17th century painting and for sculpture. In 1723 Vertue records he 'purchased 6 large painting from Mr Laws' for Kensington Palace.¹⁷⁹ The collection arranged in the three new great rooms included for the Drawing Room a 'Toilet of Venus' and 'Perseus and Andromeda' from the studio and after Guido Reni. Ruben's 'Holy Family with St Francis' hung over the chimney-piece. The purchase also included the equestrian portrait of a Knight of the Golden Fleece. George I purchased from Rusconi the four sculptural groups representing the seasons, eventually displayed on high stands within the refurnished King's Gallery at Kensington later commented on by Evelyn. The King was interested in medals and in 1718 charged his Vice Chamberlain, Thomas Coke to locate for him in Paris texts on this subject.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁷ Historical Manuscripts Commission. *Manuscripts of the Coke Family of Melbourne Hall, Debyshire, belonging to Earl Cowper KG* 12th Report. Appendix III. London. HMSO. 1898. p.187

¹⁷⁸ Christchurch Oxford. Journal of Sir John Evelyn. 11 October 1729

¹⁷⁹ Vertue. *Notebooks* op cit. Vol. III. p.19

¹⁸⁰ Historical Manuscripts Commission. *Manuscripts of the Coke Family* op cit. p.120: Michael Kinkaid (dealer) to Coke 1718 'so far as I can find out yet, Manette is the only man can furnish me with what you want, but he is extraordinarily dear. For instance the book of the King of France's medals he is not above

However a thorough examination of the picture lists for the royal residences in 1714 when Caroline arrived in London reveals that the impact of the dispersal of the collections in 1647 was still very evident despite the efforts of her royal predecessors since 1660. None of the former portrait series had survived which would bring with it a responsibility for its maintenance. When Caroline came to put together her 'Gallery of the English' she had to work hard to compile an integrated programme drawing together royal portraits scattered between various royal residences.

The location selected by the Queen for her picture closet was a room on the first floor of Kensington Palace to the west of the King's State Bedchamber in the south-eastern pavilion. It had been used by King William III as his Little Bedchamber. Under King George I's occupancy it is referred to simply as the 'Passage Room'.

Measuring 4100mm by 9250mm the room had two windows on the west wall looking onto White Court, a small internal courtyard. The chimney-breast was on the east wall. A single door in the north wall led to the King's Drawing Room. The two doors in the south wall led respectively to the King's Gallery Backstairs, and the King's Closet. The upholsterer Sarah Gilbert was asked to make up fine brown holland spring loaded sun blinds for the windows, which were installed by Henry Williams.¹⁸¹ The floor was

taking 300 livres, which is near 15l, though the preface is only in writing. This has given me so bad an impression of him I have employed two book sellers to look for it and the other books you desire'.

¹⁸¹ TNA.LC9/12/no.20: TNA.LC9/168 12r: TNA.LC9/168 204r: TNA.LC9/289 203v: TNA.LC9/169 12r: TNA.LC9/289/204 no.21.

covered with a fine 'French' fitted carpet, lined with stout linen.¹⁸² In the 1830's as part of the Duchess of Kent's refitting of the King's State Bedchamber to provide accommodation for herself, and her daughter, Princess Victoria, the northern access to the State Drawing Room was blocked off, and the room was subdivided into two rooms with a connecting passage leading to the King's Gallery Backstairs. It seems that one of the rooms served as a bathroom, the other as a dressing room. The partition walls were removed and the doorway to the State Drawing Room reinstated during a 1995-1998 restoration project within Kensington Palace.¹⁸³

The contents of the Queen's picture closet were recorded carefully by several contemporary commentators. In about 1732 the *Catalogue taken of the Pictures which are in the Publick and Private Lodgings of the Palace of Kensington* was made by Henry Lowman, the housekeeper. It survives in the Office of the Surveyor of the Queen's Pictures and records that just three pictures were present. These were Domenico's 'St Agnes', a 'Lucretia' after Caracci, and a portrait of Queen Elizabeth I attributed to Holbein, which hung on the chimney-breast.¹⁸⁴ However between 1735 and 1737 the room would be hung with a multitude of small paintings, drawings, waxes, enamels and automata. It was provided with a set of lacquer furniture presented to Queen Caroline by the British East India Company.

¹⁸² TNA.LC9/166 17r

¹⁸³ Room number Kensington Palace SF047

¹⁸⁴ There is a little confusion about the precise date for this inventory. In 1732, Henry Lowman, was no longer the housekeeper at Kensington Palace. However references in the text to Queen Caroline, the Prince of Wales, the Princess Royal, and Princess Mary suggest that it has to be made after 1727, and there are later annotations recording changes in the picture hang dated to 1734, which suggest that the date cannot be wildly inaccurate.

That we know so much about the pictures hanging within the closet is due to George Vertue, artist, engraver and enthusiastic art historian. He frequently attended Kensington Palace at the invitation of the Queen, and later of Frederick, Prince of Wales, viewing and sketching the paintings, and compiling a series of inventories. His first visit would seem to have been in 1730, when he compiled notes on the paintings in the King's Gallery.¹⁸⁵ Four years later he was back looking for 'pictures (which) are most useful for me to work after' in his work as engraver, publisher and entrepreneur. He was pleased to locate a portrait of each monarch from Henry IV to Charles II as well as 'a Duke of Gloucester, and Lord Guildford.'¹⁸⁶ In 1739, a short time after the death of the Queen, Vertue recorded that he had had the opportunity of viewing 'the new closet of pictures, call'd the Queen's closet'. Amongst the items which caught his eye were 'several large heads limnings by Cooper, only heads not finisht at his death I suppose...' He also remarked on 'the number of heads begun by Holbein : I wish I had the Names of them; some I know that has not the names'.¹⁸⁷ On a second visit later in the same year he again viewed 'a little room not far from the State Drawing Room in which hung the collection of Holbeins, Coopers and others called the Queen's Closett, pictures lately brought from Richmond'.¹⁸⁸

Vertue visited the Queen's picture closet again in 1743, bearing a warrant from the Lord Chamberlain allowing him extended access and permission to 'copy or draw after those heads by Holbein'. The Housekeeper was instructed to find him a room in which he could

¹⁸⁵ Vertue. *Notebooks* op cit. Vol. II. pp.88-9

¹⁸⁶ Ibid. Vol. IV. p.65

¹⁸⁷ Ibid. Vol. IV. P.176

¹⁸⁸ Ibid. Vol. IV. p.160

work.¹⁸⁹ He was to spend two or three days a week on this task which in the case of the picture closet included 'a scheme to show the nature, magnitude and disposition of them (the pictures) on the four sides of the room'.¹⁹⁰ (Figures 59-62) This led to the drawing up of *An exact and Intire Catalogue not only of those paintings done by Holbein, but also all other paintings, limnings, paintings small and large with the carvings in ivory and miniatures, enamels etc. in frames, cases etc. in that closet*. An incomplete manuscript still survives in the British Library with annotations made to it indicating that while the catalogue was completed after the Queen's death, the project may have been at her personal request.¹⁹¹ Around 1755 the text was included in the second expanded edition of George Bickham's *Deliciae Britannicae*.¹⁹² In 1758 it appeared in a collection of royal inventories published by William Bathoe.¹⁹³ (Appendix 2)

It is useful to establish at this point the sequence of inventories and accounts whereby one can trace the development and deployment of the picture collection more generally under Queen Caroline. The earliest inventory of Kensington Palace which can be associated with the Hanoverian dynasty, is found in the British Library.¹⁹⁴ The manuscript is undated, but is written in French, the language generally used by George I whilst in England, and in which all documents for his personal attention were written. In its content the inventory is very similar, though not absolutely identical to the inventories

¹⁸⁹ TNA.LC5/161 p.139

¹⁹⁰ Vertue. *Notebooks* op cit. Vol. IV. p.26

¹⁹¹ BL Add Ms. 15752 ff.35-43

¹⁹² BL 578639

¹⁹³ BL G2610: BL 61c23: Bathoe, W.A. *A Catalogue of Pictures belonging to King James the Second (Copied from a ms. In the Library of the Earl of Oxford) to which is appended A Catalogue of the Pictures, Drawings, Limnings, Enamels, Models in Wax and the Ivory Carvings etc at Kensington in Queen Caroline's Closet, next the State Bedchamber* London. 1758

¹⁹⁴ BL Stowe Ms. 567 ff.3-27v

drawn up for the Palace in the reign of Queen Anne.¹⁹⁵ It records a rather indifferent picture hang and Dudley Ryder who visited Kensington Palace in August 1715 was not impressed. Finally being able to view a few of the state rooms he noted 'a few pictures though no great matter'.¹⁹⁶ John Macky visiting Kensington at a similar period was a little more impressed and noted the series of portraits of the Admirals of the Fleet which had been drawn together by Prince George of Denmark hanging in the Queen's Gallery.¹⁹⁷

The inventory made of the Kensington collections in about 1732 provides a useful record of the state of the picture hang at the date of the accession of George II and Queen Caroline.¹⁹⁸ It is important to note that from 1727 the Queen's apartments, which had remained vacant since 1714, were brought back into use for Queen Caroline, and that rooms around Princesses Court were newly fitted out as accommodation for the Prince of Wales, the Princess Royal and their younger brother and sisters. There are new pictures hanging in all these rooms which with their new names appear in the c1732 inventory for the first time. Once these arrangements had been settled it would appear that there were few changes.

The first publication which can be considered a guidebook to the collections at Kensington does not mention the Queen's picture closet at all, indicating perhaps its

¹⁹⁵ BL Add Ms. 17917: BL Add Ms. 20012

¹⁹⁶ Ryder, Dudley. *The Diary of Dudley Ryder* Edited by W. Matthews. London. Methuen and Co. Ltd. 1939. p.72

¹⁹⁷ Macky, J. *A Journey through England in familiar Letters from a Gentleman here to his Friend abroad* Printed for J Roberts, T Caldecott. 1714. pp.87-88

¹⁹⁸ Royal Collection inventory. Lowman, Henry. *A Catalogue of the Pictures which are in the Publick and Private Lodgings of the Palace at Kensington* c1732

private nature. This large folio volume entitled *Apelles Britannicus* was composed in two parts. Pages 1-26 covered the principle works of art then at Hampton Court Palace; the second section concerning works of art at Kensington Palace comprised a further twelve pages. Vertue mentions various palace guidebook publication projects which help establish a date for the work 'A folio book proposed to be done by subscription, sold by numbers' adding later 'this same was afterwards publisht in small octavo called *Deliciae Britannicae* 1742' which described the collections of art at Hampton Court and Windsor Castle, was evidently published just after the *Apelles*. The *Apelles* therefore is likely to date c1741.¹⁹⁹

The *Apelles* does not attempt to give a straightforward or comprehensive inventory of all the collections at Kensington. It was designed as a readable, anecdotal guidebook to the Palace, complete with a brief introduction to the history and appearance of the building, and ending with an equally brief description of the gardens. The rest of the text comprises a guide to eleven state rooms, the Presence Chamber, Privy Chamber, The Queen's Drawing Rooms, the Dining Room, the passage room, the Queen's Gallery, the Cube, or Cupola Room, the Great Drawing Room, the King's State Bedchamber, the King's Great Closet and the King's Gallery. Of the paintings mentioned in the *Apelles* almost all appear in the same locations in the Housekeeper's inventory made in c1732, suggesting that in the public spaces at least there was a degree of consistency in the presentational order.

¹⁹⁹ Vertue *Notebooks* op cit. Vol. III. p.154

George II, following the death of Queen Caroline, had let it be known that he wished no changes be made in her rooms in particular, and that arrangements were to be retained within the palaces in general. In March 1748 when Stephen Slaughter, the Surveyor of the Pictures was asked to assess the condition of some of the paintings at Kensington, he was given strict instructions by the Lord Chamberlain 'I am also to acquaint you that you are not to remove any pictures out of the palace'.²⁰⁰ When Vertue visited Kensington in the company of Frederick, Prince of Wales in 1750 to prepare the next inventory in the sequence it is evident that arrangements had survived almost intact for nearly twenty years. He was given a copy of the c1732 inventory for reference and to ensure that 'nothing escaped our attention worth notice'.²⁰¹ The resulting document which survives in the Office of the Surveyor of the Queen's Pictures covers all the rooms noted in the earlier document, and adds a few rooms omitted earlier. Some of the paintings are described in slightly different terms, and a few are attributed to different artists.²⁰²

Within the 1743 inventory of the picture closet the items are numbered from 1 to 217. However, it should be noted that the number 125 is used twice and that many of the other numbers are allocated to frames or cases containing up to a dozen separate miniatures. Thus over four hundred individual pieces are accounted for within this list. With the exception of the paintings which hung over the doors and the fireplace, few pieces were over eighteen inches in either dimension and most were less than a foot square. The overmantle painting was a 'Lucretia' probably that attributed to Carracci and noted in the

²⁰⁰ TNA.LC5/161 p.283

²⁰¹ Vertue *Notebooks* op cit. Vol. I. pp.12-13

²⁰² The Royal Collection inventory. Vertue, George. *The Collections of Paintings Paintings etc at Kensington Hampton Court and in the Castle of Windsor* 1750

earlier inventory. Over the north door hung a portrait of James I, while a half length of Queen Elizabeth I as a girl then attributed to Holbein hung over one of the south doors. Over the second southern door hung a painting on copper of the 'Salutation of the Virgin Mary'. While a large group of paintings, drawings, and many miniatures are attributed to Holbein, Cooper and Oliver were also well represented. Groups of miniatures with associated subject or by the same artist were framed up together. One such frame, containing miniatures by Isaac Oliver of the early Stuart family, which had been offered for sale in 1650, but which failed to sell, can be traced to Queen Caroline's cabinet through the inventory entitled *An Inventory of all his Maties Pictures in White-hall* made in about 1666-1667 held now in the Office of the Surveyor of the Queen's Pictures, and in William Chiffinch's *Inventory of His Majesty's Goods, 1688*, the original listing surviving in the British Library and also published in Bathoe's compendium of royal inventories in 1758.²⁰³ (Figure 63) Some of the Oliver's with subjects after Titian and Corregio were still in the black ebony cases with folding doors provided by their early Stuart collectors. The Mabuse of Christian II's children, and the youthful portrait of Elizabeth I which hung over one of the doors and many Hilliards can also be found in the inventories made by van der Doort of the collection of King Charles I.²⁰⁴ There were a

²⁰³ Royal Collection inventory 'An Inventory of all his Maties Pictures at White-Hall' c1666-1667: BL Harl. 1890: Bathoe, W.A. *A Catalogue of the Collection of Pictures belonging to King James the Second.....to which is appended A Catalogue of the Pictures, Drawings, Limnings, Enamels, Models in Wax and the Ivory Carvings etc at Kensington in Queen Caroline's Closet, next the State Bedchamber* op cit. Six of the miniatures listed by George Vertue within gathering No. 165 survive in the Royal Collection: Mary, Queen of Scots, RCIN 401229: James I, RCIN 420052: Anne of Denmark, RCIN 420041: Henry, Prince of Wales, RCIN 420946: Charles I as Duke of York, RCIN 420048: Charles XI, King of France as a boy, RCIN 420931

²⁰⁴ Bathoe, W.A. *A Catalogue of the Collection of Pictures belonging to King James the Second.....to which is appended A Catalogue of the Pictures, Drawings, Limnings, Enamels, Models in Wax and the Ivory Carvings etc at Kensington in Queen Caroline's Closet, next the State Bedchamber* op cit. No.50. Peter Oliver after Titian, in a black ebony case with folding doors, a limning of Venus lying on a couch. No.52. Peter Oliver after Titian, limning of the Marquis of Guasto and his favourite lady and Cupid with arrows. No.54. Peter Oliver after Titian of the Madonna with the Infant in her lap, little St John with a scroll in her

small number of Italian old masters, one – a head of Christ crowned with thorns, by Carlo Dolci, another by Raphael of two mice. Contemporary artists represented included C Boit, with an enamel of Queen Anne and Prince George of Denmark dated 1706, a painting on copper by Gardelle of the King of Prussia dated 1733 and two flower pieces by Maria van Oosterwyck. (Figure 64) Dorothy, Countess of Burlington, one of the Queen's Women of the Bedchamber, a proficient amateur artist, was represented by a drawing of Lord Grantham, the Queen's Lord Chamberlain. There were heads and profiles carved of ivory and stone, several alto relievos, a silk embroidery and a landscape in which the figures moved by clockwork.²⁰⁵ Pictures were hung on all four walls, up to five tiers deep.

The largest and most significant group of work within the picture closet was the eighty four drawings by Holbein, which until 1727 had been kept together in an album. This volume can be traced back within the royal collection to at least 1547 when it is identified as the 'booke of paternes for phisoneamyces' in an inventory made at the time of the accession of King Edward VI. It is even possible that this is the book of patterns referred to in Henry VIII's inventory made in 1542. By 1590 the inventory of John Lord Lumley included 'a great booke of Pictures doone by Haunce Holbyn of certyne Lordes, Ladyes, gentlemen and gentlewomen in King Henry the 8; his tyme, their names subscribed by St

hands and St Katherine. No.145. Peter Oliver after Corregio, a limning of a satyr, Venus and Cupid in a black ebony case with folding doors. No.149. Peter Oliver after Corregio, limning of Venus and Mercury teaching Cupid to read in a black ebony frame with folding doors.

²⁰⁵ Bathoe, W.A. *A Catalogue of the Collection of Pictures belonging to King James the Second... to which is appended A Catalogue of the Pictures, Drawings, Limnings, Enamels, Models in Wax and the Ivory Carvings etc at Kensington in Queen Caroline's Closet, next the State Bedchamber* op cit. No.119. Profile in wax of Frederick King of Denmark and Norway. No.120. Profile in ivory of George Duke of Saxony. No.142. A goat and three boys carved in ivory in alto relievo. No.143. A landscape and several figures

John Cheke Secretary to King Edward the 6 wch booke was King Edward the 6'. Lord Lumley had acquired the book from his father in law, Henry Fitzalan, 12th Earl of Arundell, who had served as Edward VI's Lord Chamberlain, and the book is likely to have passed to him when the King died in 1553. When Lord Lumley died in 1609 the book with other works passed to Henry, Prince of Wales.

Charles I inherited the Holbein volume on Prince Henry's death in 1512. However he chose to pass it on to Philip, 4th Duke of Pembroke, Lord Chamberlain between 1627-1641, in exchange for a painting by Raphael of 'St George and the dragon.'²⁰⁶ The Duke passed the volume eventually to his brother in law, Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, the Earl Marshal. It would make its way back into royal ownership sometime in the reign of King Charles II and it was spotted at Whitehall Palace by John Evelyn in 1660: 'I waited on my brother and sister Evelyn to Court....I was also showed divers rich jewels and crystal vases....then incomparable heads by Holbein...this in the closet...'²⁰⁷ Later in June 1690 Constantijn Huygens took his friends Berghesteyn and Sonnius to Whitehall where 'in rooms underneath the King's Closet ...we saw four or five books with drawings amongst others Holbeins and Leonardo da Vincis'. He returned on 31st August when 'The Queen (Mary) sent for me saying she wanted me to put the books with the King's Drawings in good order'. On the following day 'in the morning at nine o'clock when I was still in bed the Queen sent for me again and together we went through the

moved by clockwork, in a large gold frame. No.162. Charles I curiously wrought in silk, small black oval frame. No.191. Henry VIII cut in stone 1534, black oval frame.

²⁰⁶ Walpole Society. *Abraham van der Doort's Catalogue of the Collections of Charles I* op cit. p.79

²⁰⁷ Evelyn, John. *Diary* Edited Dodson. op cit. Vol. II. p.155

whole of the book by Leonardo da Vinci and one by Holbein.²⁰⁸ After the fire at Whitehall Palace in 1698, the Holbein volume, as well as other collections of drawings, seem to have been moved to the King's Great Closet at Kensington Palace where they were 'rediscovered' by Queen Caroline in about 1727.²⁰⁹

Vertue recorded the occasion: 'lately discovered in a bureau at Kinsington, which had not been opened in many years, many prints, drawings, medals of silver and brass etc; some drawings of Italian masters painted in body, some designs of Holben and one book of heads said to be King Henry VIII his Queens and Court etc, some with names, some without'. He returned to the matter in the early 1730's amplifying his account 'of late (about a year or two) the present Queen met with in the library at Kinsinton many pictures, drawings (in a book) from the life done by Hans Holbein. The pictures of persons living in the time and courts of Henry VIII and Edward VI. These pieces have been long buried in oblivion....'²¹⁰ Within the British Library a list survives which provides details of the new discovery. It is annotated to indicate that in 1728 Queen Caroline removed the drawings from the folio and took them to Richmond Lodge where they were framed up individually.²¹¹ (Appendix 3) The Queen was evidently so proud of the collection she urged those in her circle to come and admire them. Lord Egmont records that in June 1732 the Queen suggested that he should go to Richmond 'to see the drawings of Holben, which are those of Henry the 8th, his Queens and Courtiers'. Egmont's comment and Vertue's passing reference to their initial hanging at Richmond,

²⁰⁸ Huygens, Constantijn. *Journal van Constantijn Huygens den Zoon* in *Wesken van Het Historish Genoofschap* ns no23. Utrecht. 1776. vol I. pp.277, 325-6

²⁰⁹ BL Add Ms. 20101 f.28, ff.58-59

²¹⁰ Vertue *Notebooks* op cit. Vol. II. p.45: Ibid Vol. II. p.83

that we have noted earlier, can be taken as evidence that the Holbein drawings in the Queens Closet were those which came from the bureau in the King's Closet at Kensington. In the picture closet each of the drawings was provided with a narrow black frame, and hung on the east wall four deep. As it happened Lord Egmont had not had time to travel to Richmond, and it was in August 1735 that he viewed the collection in the 'Queen's Closet'. 'I saw in the Queen's Closet the famous collection of Holben's heads of eminent persons in Henry 8th reign. They are 63 in number, up to half sheets of paper and seem the sketches made for his portraits in oil'.²¹² If Egmont counted the drawings accurately it is evident that the Queen added substantially to their number: Vertue would record that eventually there were ninety three in the collection and adds 'indeed some few were added to their number by the late Queen Caroline presented to her, who caused them all to be put in frames a little after she was Queen, and first hung them at Richmond House and afterwards moved them to Kensington and put them up in her closet there'.²¹³ (Figures 65-67) A pair of portraits thought to be of Holbein and his wife, the half length of Princess Elizabeth, and a painted portrait of a gentleman the Queen took to be 'Mr Reskiemer' who was recorded in the drawings series were moved to hung alongside as complements.²¹⁴ (Figures 69-70)

²¹¹ BL. Add Ms. 20101 f.28. See appendix 3: Vertue Notebooks op cit. Vol. II. p.45

²¹² Lord Egmont discusses Holbein drawings at Richmond ; Egmont, John Perival. *Diary* op cit. Vol. I. p.281: Lord Egmont views Holbein drawings at Kensington; Egmont, John Perival. *Diary* op cit. Vol. II. p.190

²¹³ Vertue. *Notebooks* op cit. Vol. V. p.45

²¹⁴ Recorded in handwritten annotations by Horace Walpole to his copy of Bathoe, W.A. *A Catalogue of the Collection of Pictures belonging to King James the Second... to which is appended A Catalogue of the Pictures, Drawings, Limnings, Enamels, Models in Wax and the Ivory Carvings etc at Kensing A Catalogue of the Collection of Pictures belonging to King James the Second.... to which is appended A Catalogue of the Pictures, Drawings, Limnings, Enamels, Models in Wax and the Ivory Carvings etc at Kensington in Queen Caroline's Closet, next the State Bedchamber* op cit. held in Office of the Surveyor of the Queen's Pictures: Royal Collection OM45 half length portrait of Elizabeth I as a girl: Royal Collection RCIN 406124 After Hans Holbein. Portrait of the Artist: Royal Collection. OM31 Hans Holbein the younger. William Restimer.

The other significant group of work, by an individual artist, singled out for comment by Vertue were the nine drawings by Cooper. Vertue describes them in 1739 'Several large heads limnings by Cooper, only heads not finisht at his death I suppose; Queen Katherina, Duke of Monmouth young, Lady Castlemain, Gen Monke'.²¹⁵ (Figures 71-72)

In order to assess the extent of the Queen's personal contribution to the royal collection of paintings it is necessary to establish the programme set underway from 1714 when she arrived in London. George II was well known for his lack of interest in the arts. He stated 'I care nothing for Bainting or Boetry' and admitted to 'extreme ignorance in painting'.²¹⁶ He discouraged the Queen in her projects, resenting the amount of time and the cost involved. Lord Hervey records that that he stated 'she may stay at home as I do. You do not see me running into every puppy's house to see his chairs and stools.....what matter that she see a collection or not'.²¹⁷ He appears embarrassed at the excesses of her Merlin's Cave worthies scheme when it received adverse press comment. He objected strongly to her rearranging pictures which hung in the rooms he used most. In 1735, in his absence, the hang established by George I within the King's Drawing Room at Kensington Palace was dismantled. The large painting on panel by Vasari of 'Venus and

²¹⁵ Vertue. *Notebooks* op cit. Vol. IV. p.176: Bathoe W.A. *A Catalogue of the Collection of Pictures belonging to King James the Second... to which is appended A Catalogue of the Pictures, Drawings, Limnings, Enamels, Models in Wax and the Ivory Carvings etc at Kensington in Queen Caroline's Closet, next the State Bedchamber* op cit. No.60. Young nobleman beating on a drum unfinished watercolour on ivory, oval frame. No.62. Queen Catherine wife of Charles II unfinished, black oval frame. No.64. Duchess of Richmond unfinished oval frame. No.65. Lady Castlemain unfinished oval frame. No.67. Young Duke of Montneath unfinished oval frame. No.104. Lady Chesterfield unframed in small oval frame. No.107. Head of General Monck in finished but very capital black oval frame. No.108. Oliver an unfinished limning gilt oval frame. No.213. Head of Cooper in crayon narrow gold frame.

²¹⁶ Ashley Cooper, Anthony *Second Characters* London. 1778. pp. 4- 7.

²¹⁷ Hervey. John Baron. *Memoirs* Edited Croker. op cit. Vol. II. p.223

Cupid' was taken down from the south wall, and removed to Windsor.²¹⁸ Other pictures were de-framed and sent to Hampton Court. The frames were promptly adapted to suit alternative paintings. George II on his return was angered by the Queen's audacity and insisted that the original hang was reinstated.²¹⁹ He grumbled at Lord Hervey 'I suppose you assisted the Queen with your fine advice when she was pulling my house to pieces'. The work undertaken on the picture collection can thus be confidently attributed to the Queen alone.

Despite these set backs, it seems that the Queen continued to move paintings between the various royal residences. She had formed a meaningful bond with her husband, and there is ample evidence that he depended on her counsel and appreciated her loyalty and tolerance. He felt confident in allowing her charge of the education of their children and was generous in his financial settlement on her. On four occasions during the reign, in 1729, 1732, 1735 and 1736 respectively while he was in Hanover Caroline was left as regent. This led Caroline to conduct her projects with confidence and increasing ambition. Annotations to Henry Lowman's inventory record several major movements of pictures. In 1736, it was noted that 'the Carlo Dolci of Herodias or St John Baptist's head on a charger was sent to Windsor....& the piece of the Duke of Buckingham's two sons by Van Dyck put in its place'. A second annotation states that Holbein's 'Meeting of Maximilian and Henry 8th was given by the Queen to the Prince of Wales in 1734'. This painting which had hung in her Dressing Room at Kensington was replaced by a painting

²¹⁸ There is suggestion in a 19th century source that Queen Caroline may have been responsible for the purchase of the Vasari 'Venus and Cupid' pre-empting it being offered for auction at Essex House in 1735. However the dates given relating to the auction and royal inventory information are difficult to reconcile. See Lucy Whittaker's forthcoming catalogue of the north Italian paintings in the Royal Collection.

called 'Fair Rosamond' which had previously hung in Princess Mary's Harpsichord Room.

The pre-eminence of Kensington Palace as a base for the collections of art can be linked with the use made of this residence from the second decade of the 18th century. Kensington offered a convenient and pleasant compromise between London and the countryside. By the 18th century, Whitehall Palace was a burnt out shell and the monarch's principal London residence was St James's Palace. In an age of heightened political activity and growing bureaucratisation and professionalism of government, but in which the monarch still played an active role, George I and George II, perhaps even more than William III and Mary II, or Queen Anne, had to stay in close contact with parliament during its increasingly lengthy and complex sessions. Both George I and George II spent many months each year at St James's, within easy reach of the political and administrative centres of Whitehall and Westminster. Although the open spaces of St James's and Green Park lay to the south and west, by the 1720's St James's Palace was more or less absorbed into the westward sprawl of the metropolis, as the suburb of Piccadilly. Numerous London guides in the 18th century stressed not only its overcrowding and noxious odours but also the resulting 'epidemical distempers' to which the annual mortality bills bear witness.²²⁰ It was not surprising that when governmental duties permitted the royal family sought solace elsewhere. Hampton Court and Windsor were used as retreats generally during the summer months, at the conclusion of the parliamentary session. Richmond Lodge, as has been discussed would serve as the most

²¹⁹ Hervey, John Baron. *Memoirs* Edited Croker. op cit. Vol. II. pp.205-207

private of the retreats. However even during the slack months, business had to be seen to. It was inconvenient to have the King and Court based twenty or thirty miles away, effectively a full day's journey from London. As well as its intrinsic charms and attractions, Kensington with easy access to Whitehall and Westminster came to play a vital role and was frequently used by the royal family.

Following the accession it is evident that Kensington Palace was used regularly by the Queen. She met her friends there regularly, she chose to make it her headquarters during her regencies, and it provided a useful venue for her projects. Queen Caroline even enjoyed the walk between the palaces, though her Ladies of the Bedchamber who were required to accompany her seem to have had a rather different opinion.²²¹ Windsor came to play a different role for her which will be explored later in this chapter, but was too far away to allow regular visits. The Queen's private rooms at St James's contained very interesting artefacts, but the space was limited, and none of the schemes there were undertaken on any grand scale until the Queen negotiated more space within former service accommodation for a new library in the year preceding her death

In no other palace was there the concentration of the collections found at Kensington, though in each there were significant series in which the Queen had drew together works related by subject, date or type. In *Deliciae Britannicae*, Bickham's guidebook to Hampton Court Palace and Windsor Castle, published in 1742, he notes a collection of full length portraits in the Queen's State Bedchamber at Hampton Court. In her State

²²⁰ The English Traveller. *The London Traveller giving description of.....England and Wales etc* 3 vol. London. T Reed. 1746. vol.III. pp.145-6

Audience room there were five full lengths attributed to Holbein, said to represent the Duchess of Brunswick, the Duke of Brunswick, the Marchioness of Brunswick, the Duchess of Lennox and Mary Queen of Scots, which she took to be royal ancestors pivotal to the linking the fortunes of the house of Stuart to the house of Hanover. At Windsor, in the Queen Dressing Room it is especially interesting to note that there were 'the portraits of several poets, painters and philosophers' It is likely that the copies of portraits she drew together of William Wollaston possibly by Charles Jervas, after a Micheal Dahl original, and Sir Isaac Newton and John Locke after Sir Godfrey Kneller formed part of this Windsor series.²²² The worthies joined a group of portraits of royal women; Queen Henrietta Maria, Queen Mary Beatrice, Anne Hyde and Queen Mary II as a child.²²³ She was delighted to inherit from George I a fine portrait of Robert Boyle by Kerseboom, which she would hang over the chimneypiece of the room at Kensington Palace in which she amassed her collection of curiosities and rarities.²²⁴ Her portrait of Samuel Clarke attributed to Charles Jervas also hung at Kensington Palace. It had been painted after an original in the possession of Lady Lechmore according to Vertue.²²⁵

While the development of the picture closet at Kensington stands as a distinct and cogent project, it is interesting to note that the Queen had made other significant changes to the

²²¹ Pope, Alexander. *The Works of Alexander Pope* Edited Croker. op cit. Vol. VI. p.186

²²² Royal Collection, Wollaston, RCIN 403014 (Figure 38): Royal Collection, Newton, RCIN 406080 (Figure 36): Royal Collection, Locke, RCIN 402818 (Figure 40)

²²³ Bickham, G. *Apelles Britannicus. Book I The Royal Palace of Hampton Court. Book II The Royal Palace of Kensington* London. T Cooper, G Bickham jun. c1741. Book II. p.186-7

²²⁴ Boyle. Royal Collection. OM 332 (Figure 39): BL Stowe Ms. 567. f.17v. 'Royal Pictures at Kensington Hampton Court Windsor & St James's' dating from c.1720 records that 'Mr Boyle...assis dans un Fauteuil tenant la main sur un livre' 'was hung in the Green Damask Room at Kensington. By the time Mr Lowman compiled his inventory of paintings at Kensington 'A Catalogue taken of the Pictures which are in the Publick and Private Lodgings of the Palace of Kensington in c.1732 the painting had moved to the new 'Library'

picture hang within the state rooms at Kensington Palace. In George I's newly constructed Privy chamber the c1732 inventory and the later records note that there was a collection of family portraits neatly ordered, including Sir Peter Lely's Queen Mary and Queen Anne, William Wissing's William III, Dobson's Charles I, Cornelius Johnson's James I, and a portrait of Henry VIII attributed to Holbein. When the portrait of James II by an artist unrecorded was moved presumably at Queen Caroline's behest in 1735, according to a handwritten annotation to the c1732 document, a van Dyck of Queen Henrietta Maria seems to have been installed in its place and is recorded in Bickham's *Apelles Britannicus* of c1741 and the 1750 inventory. Both these sources also indicate that the portrait of Sir Henry Guildford, Comptroller to Henry VIII by Holbein, the Queen's recent purchase had also been introduced. (Figure 73) In 1727, at the Queen's 'express command' William Kent was paid £50 'for drawing the sides of the Drawing Room with all the pictures skitcht in proper colours, designing and drawing the mouldings and ornaments for all the picture frames, glasses etc. For drawing the gallery with all the pictures sketcht in proper colours, the frames drawn with ornaments at large and for the sconces and glasses'.²²⁶

When one moves to the Queen's apartments one can get an even better idea of her taste and agenda. The Queen who had inherited the arrangements left by Prince George of Denmark, the husband of Queen Anne immediately made substantial alterations. By c1732 in her drawing room she had installed the Van Dyck of the children of Charles I part of the dismantled hang from the King's Closet. In her bedchamber Wissing's half

²²⁵ Clarke. Royal Collection. RCIN 403011 (Figure 37): Egmont, John Perival. *Diary* op cit Vol. I. pp.7-8: Vertue. *Notebooks* op cit. Vol..II. p.74

length portrait of Charles II was installed. Next door in her dressing room was Holbein's Sir Thomas More. Her dining room was dominated with the portrait by Riley of Katherine Elliott, Housekeeper at St James's Palace under Charles II, which she had moved from George I's stool room on the floor below, together with a portrait of Queen Anne as a girl. There was a small group of Stuart portraits. In the Queen's Gallery, Prince George of Denmark's 'Admirals' gave way to a collection of impressive full length royal portraits. Though this room is omitted from the c1732 inventory, the details are given in the c1741 *Apelles* listing. The sequence which starts with Henry VIII, Queen Mary I and Queen Elizabeth I ends with George II and Queen Caroline. This arrangement was still in place when James Stephenoff recorded the Queen's Gallery in about 1815. (Figure 74)

Within her private apartments the Queen also reassessed the arrangements. It was in her most intimate rooms the Queen chose to draw together the greatest concentration of paintings on panel. Copies after Holbein of the portraits of Henry VII and Henry VIII with their queens had been placed over the chimney-piece in her private bedchamber by c1732. The room also contained portraits of William III and Mary II. Her private dressing room was hung with eleven royal portraits recording early monarchs; Henry IV, Henry V, Henry VI, Henry VII, Meeting of Henry VIII and the Emperor Maximilian, Edward VI, Queen Elizabeth, as well as the King and Queen of Bohemia. Hanging in the Queen's Passage Room there was a collection of Tudor royal portraits comprising an unattributed painting of the young Elizabeth I, 'in ruff and red habit', a 'head' of Queen Mary I 'in ruff and white habit when young', and the picture described as an 'emblematic picture with Juno, Venus and Pallas with Queen Elizabeth, small life'; this last painting had also

²²⁶ TNA. Works 6/15. pp.168-169

been moved from one of George I's arrangements which had been in the Red Camlet room on the floor below and on the King's side of the palace. This painting can be identified in inventories dating back to 1547. 'Queen Mary of Scotland, a head painted on board very pale and her attire all white' and 'Arthur, Prince of Wales' were also noted by Vertue, though their locations at Kensington are not given. He would make engravings after the paintings of Edward IV and Richard III which he found stored with 'The Field of the Cloth of Gold' series in a room identified as 'a small room beyond the chamber in which King William died', which is now difficult to identify. These engravings and that of King Alfred published in 1733 are annotated as being variously after an 'antient painting at Kensington Palace' or 'From an antient painting in the Royal Collection now at Kensington Palace'. (Figures 75-77)

Queen Caroline evidently had a wide and lively interest in the arts. Lord Egmont recalled discussing with her 'my collection of painted heads, Dr Couraye, the history of France, gardening, painting, flattery and diverse political and moral subjects' in December 1734.²²⁷ On an earlier occasion in 1731 he enjoyed a discussion about the collecting of medals.²²⁸ Horace Walpole in his *Reminiscences* recalled that the Queen carried round with her a red and gold book into which she would insert any interesting image, paper or document she might come across.²²⁹ Lord Hervey, the Queen's Vice-Chamberlain and her friend and confidant, was frequently taken to task by George II for encouraging the Queen both in her involvement with the artistic community and her visits to view private

²²⁷ Egmont, John Perival. *Diary* op cit. Vol. II. p.138

²²⁸ Ibid. Vol. I. p.178

art collections as has been noted. Though Caroline prized the unusual, such as the paintings with moving parts, which she included in her closet and which had also been prized by the Electress Sophia, her grandmother-in-law, her interests would seem in line with many of her contemporaries. William Stukeley wrote of the mutual interests he held with his friend John 2nd Earl of Montagu 'we have exactly that same taste for old family concerns, genealogy, pictures furniture, coats of arms, the old way of building, gardening and the like'. The Queen could find female parallels in the commissioning and collecting of art in Mary Edwards, who drew around her an impressive circle of artists and intellectuals. (Figure 78) Hogarth's 'Conversation Piece' now preserved in the Philadelphia Museum of Art includes not only the portrait of Sir Andrew Fountaine, but also his niece, and the auctioneer Christopher Locke's wife. In Hogarth's eyes these women were intelligent enough to be regarded as serious parties in the contemporary debate about art.

Within the Queen's intimate female circle there was evidently lively debate about both art and artists. Amongst the Queen's Ladies of the Bedchamber Lady Sundon as has been noted earlier was compiling her illustrated volume of heraldry relating to their circle. Mary Clavering, Lady Cowper, whose friendship with Caroline can be traced back to about 1710, commissioned portraits of the royal children from Maingauld for her home at Panshanger in Hertfordshire. Dorothy Countess of Burlington, appointed a Lady of the Bedchamber on Caroline's accession in 1727, was an enthusiastic amateur artist and was given access by the Queen to the royal collection to copy the double portrait of George

²²⁹ Walpole, Horace, Earl of Orford. *Reminiscences written by Mr Horace Walpole in 1788 for the amusement of Miss Mary and Miss Agnes Berry*. Edited by Paget Toynbee. Oxford. Clarendon Press. 1924.

Villiers 2nd Duke of Buckingham and Lord Francis Villiers after Van Dyke.²³⁰ She was allowed to borrow the set of prints by Wenceslas Hollar, which the Queen discovered in the same bureau as the Holbein drawings.²³¹ Queen Caroline would later include one of the Countess's works within the hang in the Kensington Palace picture closet. Through Lady Burlington the Queen would have information about the artistic programmes undertaken by Lord Burlington at his houses in London and at Chiswick. Even though in the 1730's ill health led to breaks in Lady Burlington's royal service, she remained in such esteem that she made the last portrait of the Queen - a small drawing of the Queen on her deathbed in 1737.²³² (Figure 79)

Within the Queen's broader circle Sir Robert Walpole, the First Minister, was also a great collector of art and championed the work of William Kent, Colen Campbell and other Whiggish artists and architects. He regarded the Queen as a major ally and champion and claimed that 'Madam without you I can do nothingyou, Madam, are the sole mover of this Court'²³³ The inventory of the Queen's library includes a copy of the *Plans, Elevations and Sections, Chimneypieces and Ceilings of Houghton in Norfolk, the Seat of the Right Honable Sir Robert Walpole* published by Isaac Ware in 1735. Their common interest led the Queen to make a visit to view Sir Robert's picture collection marshaled for her benefit at his London residence on 13th August, 1732.²³⁴

p.107

²³⁰ Lady Dorothy Savile, Countess of Burlington. George Villiers after Van Dyke undated. Black, red and white chalk. Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement : Lady Dorothy Savile, Countess of Burlington. Lord Francis Villiers after Van Dyke. Black. Red and white chalk. Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement

²³¹ BL Add Ms. 20101 f.28

²³² Chatsworth. Kent/Burlington House 26/69/76 : TNA. Works 4/5 May, 22, 1733

²³³ Hervey. John, Baron. *Memoirs* Edited Croker. op cit. Vol II. pp. 78-81

Sir Andrew Fountaine, appointed by the Queen as tutor to the young Prince William Augustus was also a notable collector and must have enjoyed being party to lively debate about art. Vertue noted that Sir Andrew had his own painted worthies series arranged in the library of his house at Narford.²³⁵

Alexander Pope who sat on the fringes of the Queen's circle, but with whose work she was familiar, wrote in 1711 of his collection of painted worthies 'I keep the pictures of Dryden, Milton, Shakespeare etc in my chamber round me, that the constant remembrance of 'em may keep me always humble'.²³⁶

The Duke of Richmond brought his version of the painted memorial to Lord Darnley which he had discovered at Aubigny from his home at Goodwood to Court, so the Queen could compare it with the first version she was presented with in about 1736 by Thomas Fermor, Lord Pomfret.²³⁷ (Figure 80) While none of these people were responsible for putting together particularly calculated family portrait series, given the Queen's preoccupation with genealogical study, they may have encouraged her to see the royal dynasty celebrated through the painted medium.

As well as enjoying discussing art with her contemporaries, the Queen took every advantage to visit collections in London and its environs. From as early as 1729 these

²³⁴ *Gentleman's Magazine* August, 1732

²³⁵ Vertue. *Notebooks* op cit. Vol IV. p.10. The library contained portraits of Inigo Jones, Palladio, Rubens, Alexander Pope, Ben Johnson, Shakespeare, Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, Prince Rupert, Dr Pocock, Cardinal Mazarin and Cotton

²³⁶ Pope, Alexander. *The Works of Alexander Pope* Edited Croker op cit. Vol VI. *Correspondence* Vol. I. p.145

²³⁷ Jacques, D. *A Visit to Goodwood the Seat of the Duke of Richmond* Chichester. 1822. pp.101-127.

occasions are recorded occurring most frequently during the King's absences in Hanover. In July 1729 she took the 'whole Royal Family' to 'the Rt. Hon. The Earl of Orkney's Seat at Clefden near Slough in Buckingham where they were in a most magnificent and elegant manner entertain'd'.²³⁸ In July 1732 again while acting as Regent, she visited Lord Tankerdale's house in St James's Square to see his new staircase painted by Jacopo Amigoni in the company of the Prince of Wales, and her three eldest daughters.²³⁹ The royal party stopped on the way to see a new painting by Jervas at the Chelsea Hospital. A visit to see the 'rare cabinet of earthenware....and painting by Raphael, Jul Romano, del Sarto and other famous masters of that age' in the collection of Sir Andrew Fountaine followed shortly afterwards.²⁴⁰ Other visits were made to see the painting collections of Sir Paul Methuen, the retired diplomatist in July 1733, The Hon Henry Pelham on 13th June 1732, and shortly after on 26th June to Henry Pelham's brother, the Duke of Newcastle at Claremont in Esher.²⁴¹ As noted earlier the *Gentleman's Magazine* in August 1732 recounts that when the Queen was entertained by Sir Robert Walpole in the 'greenhouse' of his house in Chelsea. The visit is also recorded by Joseph Farrington in his *Anecdotes of Walpole*.²⁴² In 1735 the Queen, visiting Lord and Lady Burlington at Chiswick House, was 'quite charm'd with the Beauties of the place'.²⁴³

There are several recorded instances of the Queen visiting the studios of artists. In 1732 Vertue notes that 'The Queen attended with several noblemen came from Kingsington

²³⁸ *The Political State of Great Britain* Vol XXXVIII. July, 1729

²³⁹ Vertue. *Notebooks* op cit. Vol. III. pp.61-62

²⁴⁰ Vertue. *Notebooks* op cit. Vol. V. p.120:

²⁴¹ *Gentleman's Magazine* June, 1732

²⁴² Walpole, Horace, Earl of Orford. *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence* edited by W.S Lewis and John Riley. 48 vol. New Haven Conn. London. Yale University Press. 1937-1983. Vol 15. p.333

²⁴³ Chatsworth papers. 230.5. Lady Elizabeth Finch to Lady Burlington. May 25, 1735

one morning to view some pictures at Mr Jarvis's house in Cleveland Court'.²⁴⁴ Later in the same year he records 'from hence to Mr Wootton's in Cavendish Square to see some horses lately painted by Mr Wotton where she viewed a portrait of Lord Malpas, while there she also noted a portrait of George II on horseback, a grey horse for Lord Hubbard, the face of the King by Mr Jarvis, all of the other parts by Mr Wotton.'. It was recorded that the Queen approved of the painting of the horse but was very disappointed with the painting of her husband. As has been noted earlier the Queen had visited the Rysbrack's studio in 1735 to see the equestrian portrait of William III and to follow the progress of his work on her last sculptural commission – a line of kings and Queens for her new library at St James's.

Involvement between the Queen and artists came with the commissioning of her own portrait. The Queen, who had sat for Sir Godfrey Kneller as Princess of Wales in 1716, later sat for Charles Jervas in 1727 at the request of the Corporation of London, and to the miniaturist Christian Friedrich Zincke in the same year.²⁴⁵ (Figures 81-82) In 1728 Vertue records that Caroline presented Sir Robert Walpole's wife with another portrait by Zincke which had been set in a diamond mount.²⁴⁶ During the 1730's portraits were made by Enoch Seeman and Herma van der Myn.²⁴⁷ The *Gentleman's Magazine* in May 1732 records that a portrait of the Queen in robes of state by an artist unspecified was commissioned by the King for him to carry with him while travelling abroad.²⁴⁸ Zincke, who had returned to paint the royal children in 1731, painted George and Caroline the

²⁴⁴ Vertue. *Notebooks* op cit .Vol. III. p.61

²⁴⁵ , Royal Collection, Sir Godfrey Kneller. OM 345: Royal Collection, Christian Friedrich Zincke, RCIN 512218

²⁴⁶ Vertue *Notebooks* op cit. Vol.III. p.30

following year.²⁴⁹ Vertue records that the artist was given careful instructions by Caroline to make the King's portrait youthful, and in turn George advised the artist that Caroline should not look more than twenty eight years old.²⁵⁰ Vertue went on to record that a painter called Rusca from Cassel arrived in London in 1735 and at the request of the King made a portrait of the Queen.²⁵¹ Later John Vanderbank in 1736 produced his portrait and between 1736 and 1737 it is likely that Joseph Highmore who had previously worked up a portrait 'by stealth' is likely to have been granted a sitting by the Queen.²⁵² In 1737 Jacopo Amigoni completed his portrait of the Queen for Dr Meade. (Figure 83) This is likely to have followed two portraits commissioned earlier by the Queen from this artist in 1735.²⁵³ In her later years Matthew Gossett, an artist in wax made a wax profile portrait.

The Queen also commissioned paintings on her own account. In about 1728 she asked Charles Jervas to paint her youngest son, Prince William Augustus.²⁵⁴ Her privy purse accounts preserved in the Royal Archives at Windsor are incomplete but record that amongst the private purchases made between 1730 and 1731 she paid William Kent £116.6 for paintings, almost certainly for his series of history paintings.²⁵⁵ (Figures 84-86) In 1733 she paid £378 to Mary Ackman, £84 to Philip Mercier and £115.5 to

²⁴⁷ Royal Collection, Enoch Seeman RCIN 55331: Herma van der Myn, Orleans House

²⁴⁸ *Gentleman's Magazine*. May, 1732

²⁴⁹ The miniatures by Zincke of Anne, Princess Royal (Royal Collection Audience Room 12/17) and of Princess Louisa (Royal Collection Audience Room 12/9) later hung in Queen Caroline's picture closet. Bathoe W.A. *Catalogue of Pictures, Drawings.....in Queen Caroline's Closet* op cit. no. 103

²⁵⁰ Vertue. *Notebooks* op cit. Vol. III. p.50: Vertue. *Notebooks* op cit. Vol III p.58

²⁵¹ Ibid. Vol. III. p.76

²⁵² John Vanderbank's portrait survives at Goodwood: Joseph Highmore's portrait is discussed by Vertue. *Notebooks* op cit. Vol. III. p.54: The portrait survives in the Royal Collection, OM 518

²⁵³ Amigoni, NPG4332. TNA. AO1 415 vol. 169

²⁵⁴ Vertue. *Notebooks* op cit. Vol. III. p.17

²⁵⁵ RA Add Ms. 53993 Accounts. 5 May 1730-25 May, 1731

Christian Frederick Zincke for pictures.²⁵⁶ In 1735 she paid Amigoni for a painting of her eldest daughter, Princess Anne, Princess Royal and Princess of Orange, which she later presented to Lord Hardwick along with two portraits of herself.²⁵⁷ At this period Amigoni also painted another three quarter length portrait of Princess Anne, with companion portraits of her sisters, Princess Amelia and Princess Caroline, again perhaps at the Queen's behest.²⁵⁸

The Queen enjoyed the company of William Kent who served her as an artist as well as architect, interior designer and garden theorist. In 1735 it was considered essential that Kent check over the 'Queen's book' which was being prepared by Mr Eliot, before it was considered appropriate to return the book to the Queen.²⁵⁹ The series of history paintings the Queen commissioned from him reflected her particular interests. The group comprised images of the 'Battle of Agincourt', 'The Meeting between Henry V and the Queen of France' and 'The Marriage of Henry V'.²⁶⁰ These paintings were subsequently hung within the Queen's most frequented intimate room – her dressing room at St James's Palace, where they were observed later by Horace Walpole.²⁶¹ The fact she paid for them out of her Privy Purse, indicates the personal nature of the commission. Frames are likely to have been supplied by William Waters who was paid £211.13.3 in the same quarter. William Kent also sought permission to work on the new decorations for the

²⁵⁶ RA Add Ms. 54015 Accounts. Sept 1731- Sept 1, 133

²⁵⁷ TNA. AO1 415 vol. 169

²⁵⁸ TNA. AO1 415 vol. 169. The portrait of Princess Caroline is now at Ickworth

²⁵⁹ Chatsworth papers. 127.6.19 Sept, 1735

²⁶⁰ Royal Collection, Battle of Agincourt. OM 505 RCIN 402901: Royal Collection, The Meeting between Henry V and the Queen of France OM 506: Royal Collection, The Marriage of Henry V, OM 507, RCIN 402900: RA Add Ms Geo 53998. A bust of Henry V was prepared by Rysbrack for the Queen sculptural worthies series for her library in 1736.

²⁶¹ Walpole, Horace, Earl of Orford. *Horace Walpole's Journal of Visits to Country Seats* op cit. pp.15-16

Queen's Staircase at Hampton Court Palace. On 2 May 1734, he wrote that the 'staircase leading to the Queen's great apartment at Hampton Court was never yet completely finished & the wainscot there is much out of repair....it would be advisable to take away the wainscot & embellish the walls and ceiling of the said staircase which are at present only whitewashed with ornaments painted of canvas in chiaroscuro, the charge....will amount to the sum of five hundred and fifty pounds'. The project was completed by 1735.²⁶² He was also asked to undertake the conservation of various works of art, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

The close association of the Queen with Kent and his patrons seem to have led her into tricky situations involving artists thought of as his rivals. William Hogarth sought and was granted permission though 'some lady about the Queen' to make a painting recording the wedding of Princess Anne, Princess Royal to William Henry IV, Stadholder of the Netherlands in November, 1734. The permission was later withdrawn and the commission passed unsurprisingly to William Kent.²⁶³ (Figure 87) Hogarth complained that this was not the first time access to the royal family had been denied after a project had commenced. Earlier in 1731 or 1732 he had been given permission to paint the royal family making two sketches, one of which survives in the Royal Collection, the other in the National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin. One sitting with Prince William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland was allowed before the permission was withdrawn and the artist was unable to proceed.²⁶⁴ (Figures 88-89)

²⁶² TNA. Works 5/141. 1735

²⁶³ Vertue. *Notebooks* op cit. Vol. III. p.88

The Queen went on to commission copies of paintings of her worthies and heroes. The portrait of the Rev William Wollaston made by Michael Dahl was copied for her probably by Charles Jervas and was later recorded hanging in her dressing room at Windsor Castle alongside the portraits of Sir Isaac Newton and John Locke discussed earlier. The portrait of the Rev Samuel Clarke by Charles Jervas in the collection of Lady Lechmore was copied and was set up in Kensington Palace, where it was viewed by Lord Egmont in June 1730.²⁶⁵

The Queen also made her own purchases of historic paintings, limnings, medals and miniatures. Vertue noted that the portrait of Sir Henry Guildford by Holbein in the collection of Lord Stafford at Tart Hall had been purchased by 'the Crown' probably at the Queen's request in about 1734, shortly after the death of Lord Stafford, and by about 1735 it was hanging in the Privy Chamber at Kensington Palace.²⁶⁶ Vertue also suggests that the Queen acquired the portrait of Mary I after Anthonis Mor, a version of the portrait made in 1554. It was first spotted hanging 'at Richmond in the Princess's house' in about 1724.²⁶⁷ It would seem that the Queen had already acquired a portrait of Henry IV and another of Elizabeth I, this last from 'Mr Coke', sometime before 1729, when they are already noted as hanging in Kensington Palace.²⁶⁸ Mr Coke, probably

²⁶⁴ Ibid. Vol. III. p.68: Royal Collection, OM 559

²⁶⁵ Vertue. *Notebooks* op cit. Vol. II. p.74: Egmont, John Perival. *Diary* op cit. Vol. I. pp.7-8

²⁶⁶ Vertue noted that the portrait of Sir Henry Guildford was hanging in Tart Hall in 1726. Vertue. *Notebooks* op cit. Vol. II. p.19: Royal Collection Inventory. George Vertue 'The Collections of Pictures Paintings.....at Kensington....' 1750 op cit. notes that the portrait was hanging at Kensington Palace c1735. Vertue. *Notebooks* op cit. Vol. IV. p.40

²⁶⁷ Royal Collection, OM 53 : Vertue. *Notebooks* op cit. Vol. I. p.135

²⁶⁸ Henry IV. OM5. BL Add Ms. 20101, f.56: Royal Collection Inventory. George Vertue. 'The Collections of Pictures Paintings.....at Kensington.....' op cit. f.25: Vertue. *Notebooks* op cit. Vol. IV. p.65: Elizabeth I, OM48. BL Add Ms. 20101 f.56: Royal Collection Inventory. George Vertue. 'The Collections of Pictures Paintings.....at Kensington....' op cit. f.25

Christopher Cock, the auctioneer was also the source of a painting by Filippo Lauri called 'The Rest on the Flight to Egypt'.²⁶⁹ (Figure 90) Other purchases were Van Bassan's 'King and Queen of Bohemia dining', 'Calm' by the Younger van der Velde and Carlo Marratti's 'Annunciation'. (Figure 91) In 1730 Charles Jervas travelled to Italy with the instruction to buy pictures for the royal family. However he became ill and returning home to London died very shortly after.²⁷⁰

The Queen made special efforts to acquire medieval images of English monarchs. The greater number of the early royal portraits compiled principally by Henry VIII, glorifying and legitimising the Tudor dynasty, which extended back to Edward II and continued to the early 17th century unbroken with the exception of King Henry IV and King Henry V, which had once graced the *Privie Gallery*, Whitehall, and Somerset House, had been dispersed in the 1640's. Queen Caroline is said by the Rev J Granger, Rector of Shiplake in Oxfordshire, to have 'begged' a series of panel paintings illustrating the English royal line from Lord Cornwallis.²⁷¹ I have not been able to find the original reference which led to Granger's claim but Charles, Baron Cornwallis of Eye (1700-1762) had been appointed Groom of the Bedchamber in 1721, before succeeding to his title in 1722. Sir Charles Cornwallis, one of his predecessors, had been Treasurer to the Household of Henry Prince of Wales from 1609 and Sir Charles's father, Thomas Cornwallis (1519-1604), had been Steward of the Household to Prince Edward and by 1557 Comptroller of the Household to Mary I. Thomas's eldest son William took Jane Meautys as his second

²⁶⁹ Probably OM 532. Laura. 'Holy Family' Recorded as being at Kensington by Vertue in his annotations to Bathoe

²⁷⁰ Vertue. *Notebooks* op cit. Vol. III. p.85

²⁷¹ Granger, Rev J. *A Biographical History* op cit. Vol I. p.17

wife. She was a good friend of Lucy, Duchess of Bedford, Lady of the Bedchamber to Queen Anne of Denmark, and a collector and promoter of the work of Holbein.

In 1722, Charles, Baron Cornwallis married Elizabeth daughter of Charles 2nd Viscount Townsend. As his heir she would inherit a distinguished collection of paintings which was moved to their home, Brome Hall in Suffolk. The collections surviving in the gallery at Audley End represent part of the Broome Hall, Cornwallis and Townsend collections, which eventually arrived there in 1823 through Jane, Lady Braybroke, on the death of her father the 2nd Marquis Cornwallis of Broome Hall. The Royal Collection still contains a series of paintings on panel which is likely to represent the Cornwallis purchase. The subjects are Edward III, Richard II, Henry IV, Henry V, Henry VI, Edward IV, Elizabeth Woodville, Lady Margaret Beaufort, Duchess of Richmond and Derby, Henry VII, Elizabeth of York, Henry VIII, Katherine of Aragon, Anne Boleyn, Edward VI and Mary I.²⁷² (Figures 92-93) These joined the Henry IV and Elizabeth I Caroline had acquired earlier from Christopher Cock.

To represent the houses of Brunswick and Brandenburg Caroline marshaled together within the picture closet a series of portrait miniatures painted in about 1595. These had presumably been part of the Hanoverian collections. She had them set in frames, in groups of eight set around a single landscape study. There were two main series. The first

²⁷² Edward III, Royal Collection, OM 1: Richard II, Royal Collection, OM 3: Henry IV, Royal Collection, OM 4: Henry V, Royal Collection, OM 8: Henry VI, Royal Collection, OM 9: Edward IV, Royal Collection, OM 11: Elizabeth Woodville, Royal Collection, OM13
OM 13: Lady Margaret Beaufort, Duchess of Richmond and Derby, Royal Collection, OM 15: Henry VII, Royal Collection, OM 16: Elizabeth of York, Royal Collection, OM 18: Henry VIII, Royal Collection, OM38: Katherine of Aragon, Royal Collection, OM 41: Anne Boleyn, Royal Collection, OM 42: Edward VI, Royal Collection, OM 51: Mary I, Royal Collection, OM54

comprised forty-nine miniatures focused around the figure of William the Younger Duke of Brunswick. As well as including images of his children and their consorts, the series extended back to cover his most notable predecessors. They were painted by an unknown miniature painter working principally at the court of Brunswick-Lüneburg.²⁷³ (Figure 94)

The second series comprised fanciful portraits of members of the house of Brunswick-Lüneburg with their wives from a period earlier than the individuals represented in the other longer series. The eight principal characters are identified by their names, written in a gothic script indicating a romantic antiquarian approach had been part of their production. The series is likely to have been painted in Germany but by an unknown artist.²⁷⁴ (Figure 95) In total the collection of images relating to the Caroline's German ancestors originally numbered eighty eight and two thirds of them survive in the Royal Collection, though Caroline's gatherings have now been broken up. The picture closet also contained four enamels probably of Netherlandish origin dating from about 1650, which showed the four surviving daughters of Elizabeth of Bohemia, who stood as the pivotal figures in the justification for the Hanoverian succession.²⁷⁵ The collection in Hanover again seems to have been the source. This traditional provenance was perpetuated into the mid nineteenth century when an inventory of all the royal enamels was made.²⁷⁶

The Queen also collected coins and medals. This provided her with another medium in which to draw together chronologies and celebrate the dynasties of those she admired.

²⁷³ Royal Collection. RCIN 420431-420482

²⁷⁴ Royal Collection. RCIN 420423-420430

²⁷⁵ Royal Collection. RCIN 421736-421739

Lord Egmont's diary provides an insight into her interest in this subject 'Went to Court where the King and Queen spoke to me and the latter held a long discourse with me about Dr Couraye, Popery, Trinanus, medals etc'.²⁷⁷ Adding together the number of medals mentioned in the first inventory of the *wunderkammer* the total reaches 1020 items and Horace Walpole's summary of the collection made in 1764 reveals that the Queen owned a series in silver depicting Roman Emperors from Julius Caesar to Marcus Aurelius, indicating that she followed a collecting plan. 'Nine Long Drawers, quite full with a series of Roman Imperial silver medals from Julius Caesar to the end of Marcus Aurelius some of the most scarce of which appear to me to be false'.²⁷⁸ In this interest she had an ally in Elisabeth Charlotte of Orléans, often called Liselotte, the aunt of the Electress Sophia. Their extensive correspondence commenced in 1715, when Caroline was still Princess of Wales, and would continue to Liselotte's death in 1722. She wrote from Paris to Caroline about her own collection 'in all I have four hundred and ten medals. I amuse myself by having learned men discuss them, and I have the inscriptions that are on the back translated for me. This interests me greatly. You are right in thinking that Hanoverian medals are incomparably finer than those of Nuremburg'.²⁷⁹

The Queen was presented with paintings and drawings as her interests became known within the wider court circle. The Queen's tremendous enthusiasm for the work of Holbein, and her keen interest in his drawings in particular led Robert Clayton, Bishop of Killala to send to his kinswoman, Mrs Clayton, a series of drawings he had discovered.

²⁷⁶ Royal Collection inventory. 'A Catalogue of the Miniatures in the Possession of Her Majesty the Queen' 1851. Probably compiled by John Glover

²⁷⁷ Egmont, John Perival. *Diary* op cit. Vol. I. p.179

²⁷⁸ RA *Manuscript bought 1942 from Mr Francis Harper*: RA. Geo Add Ms 16: BM Add Ms 20101

He writes 'I searched for the remainder of those drawings which you were pleased to present to her Majesty and found that I had six more which I had not put in frames. I shall take care to send them to you by the first safe hand'.²⁸⁰ On receipt of these drawings it would seem that the Queen felt sufficiently familiar with Holbein's working style to question their attribution. Lord Egmont records that when it was suggested to her that she should allow engraved copies to be made of the main collection, she suggested that trials should be made on these works to check the extent of damage which might result to the originals.²⁸¹ As noted earlier an early 18th century copy of the self portrait of Hans Holbein made in 1543 with a companion portrait of his wife was presented by Sir Robert Walpole and was later noted by Vertue hanging in the Supper Room at Kensington.²⁸² Another sixteenth century work, the Memorial to Lord Darnley attributed to Livinius de Vogelaare, was presented to the Queen by Thomas Fermor, Lord Pomfret. Master of the Horse to Queen Caroline, probably in 1736, and later hung at Kensington.²⁸³ However the gifts also included contemporary works. The Earl of Chesterfield gave the Queen a painting of the Prince of Nassau Friesland, shortly before the Prince was to visit London in 1732.²⁸⁴

²⁷⁹ Elizabeth Charlotte, Duchesse d'Orléans. *Life and Letters of Charlotte Elizabeth, Princess Palatine 1652-1722* London. 1889. p.165

²⁸⁰ Sundon, Viscountess. *Memoirs* op cit. Vol II. pp.11-12

²⁸¹ Lord Egmont identifies the source of the gift to the Bishop of Killaloe who looked after the diocese adjacent to that of Killala where Robert Clayton was bishop. Egmont, John Perival. *Diary* op cit. Vol. II. p.297

²⁸² Royal Collection, OM 53, RCIN 406124. The location of the painting is described in handwritten annotations by Horace Walpole to his copy of Bathoe, W.A. *A Catalogue of Pictures belonging to King James the Second*..... op cit.

²⁸³ Royal Collection, OM 90: Vertue. *Notebooks* op cit. Vol. IV. p.124. It was spotted also by Sir John Clerk still in Lord Pomfret's collection on 31 March 1727 see note by Addison in Royal Collection inventory VR inv 24 Feb 1866

²⁸⁴ *Gentleman's Magazine* March 1732. p.675

It was however the minority of the paintings and other works of art discussed above which actually found their way into the Queen's picture closet. The Holbein drawings were obvious candidates, but the painting of Sir Henry Guildford remained in Privy Chamber nearby. The majority of the set of early panel paintings extracted from Lord Cornwallis seem to have been marshalled in the Queen's Private Dressing Room at Kensington with the Memorial to Lord Darnley in the 'Little Passage between the Dressing Room and Bedchamber'.²⁸⁵ The picture closet at Kensington Palace appears to have been drawn together by breaking up groups of pictures which had been established traditionally in other parts not only of Kensington Palace but several other royal residences. At Kensington the Queen had access to the mass of small paintings which had been gathered together earlier in the King's Closet which had been dismantled by 1732. The Holbein drawings retrieved from their volume in the King's Closet, originally hung at Richmond, returned to Kensington, and were hung together with the Riley drawings which also seem to come to light in the same Kensington folio. A small collection of Tudor royal portraits originally drawn together by the Queen to hang in her closet at St James's Palace were later integrated into the picture closet scheme.

It is interesting to consider how the picture closet, with its mixture of media, its broad date range and its eclectic subject matter fits with the Queen's other artistic programmes. We have discussed elsewhere the three sculptural series of worthies and heroes commissioned by the Queen. Two of these series were in celebration of the historic pedigree of the British royal family though the third commemorated contemporary

²⁸⁵ Royal Collection inventory. George Vertue *The Collection of Pictures, Paintings.....at Kensington...*. 1750 op cit

philosophers. By the time the picture closet project was underway the Queen had only completed her Hermitage scheme, its collection of sculpture celebrating contemporary worthies. On the assumption that the picture closet hang was put together between about 1734 and 1735, work on Merlin's Cave would also have been well advanced. The library series of sculptures in celebration of the royal line was yet to be initiated. There was however another allied project at Windsor Castle where statues of King Alfred the Great and the Black Prince were set up in 1735 either side of the doors to St George's Hall. George Bickham in *Deliciae Britannicae* in 1742 suggests that these were commissioned and installed at the request of Frederick, Prince of Wales. Although without a doubt these particular monarchs had a resonance with the young Prince, they also figure largely in his mother's artistic programmes and it would seem very unlikely given the Prince's uneasy relationship with his parents, that he would be allowed to set up his own commission in such a prominent place in such an important royal residence, without permission.

The one unifying feature of the works of art included in the Closet project is that they are portraits. It becomes apparent that the Queen was deeply intrigued by the contemporary fashion for collecting prints and it was prints of 'heads' which interested her most of all. The Queen's library list and the library book movements log show that she had begun to amass her own book collection relating to this subject.²⁸⁶ The book movements log also attest that the Queen consulted the volumes, in this instance at Richmond. 'Delivre aussy pour la reine le 20 Dec 1730 un grand foll ou iy avoit dedans plusieurs figures et portraits

²⁸⁶ BM Add Ms. 11511 includes the titles: *The Heads of the Kings and Queen's of England* fol: *Portraits des Hommes Illustres* par Jean Morin, Par. 1644 fol: *Le meme* par M Perrault, Par. 1696 fol 2 vol: *Les Tombeaux des Personnes Illustres* par Jean le Laboureau, Paris 1642: *Delle Lettere di Tredici Huomini*

persons de plusieurs especes et couleurs porter a Richemont'.²⁸⁷ When the Queen discovered the Holbein drawings amongst the other works she extracted from the large collection included 'A little Book of Heads, Drawn on vellum'.²⁸⁸ Lord Egmont in October 1736 noted that he had sent a copy of Knapton's prints of English heads to Lord Grantham to hand on to the Queen.²⁸⁹ The Queen had been instrumental in the successful completion of this project after allowing George Vertue access to the Kensington Palace collections in 1734.²⁹⁰ Vertue's work was eventually published as *Twelve heads of the Poets' and 'Nine Historical Portraits* by the more commercially minded Knapton in 1736; the volume dedicated to Frederick, Prince of Wales.

Lord Egmont, the second son of Sir John Percival, was appointed Member of Parliament for County Cork in Ireland aged 20, and later served as a member of the House of Commons in London. Very concerned to advance his own career and promote the interests of his family, he was assiduous in attending on both the King and Queen at every opportunity. An amateur musician, and obviously well read, his particular interest in English foreign policy brought him contact with those involved in colonization projects particularly in North America. The royal family, particularly the Queen enjoyed discussing these subjects with him.

Lord Egmont was an enthusiastic participant in the engraved portrait head collecting boom. In his home, Charlton House in Kent, Vertue, describes there being in a very fine

Illustri, Ven.1554: Esprit des Hommes Illustres, Emereurs, Roys, Capitaines, Philosophes etc, Anciens et Modernes dans leurs Bons Mots et leurs plus remarquables pensees Haye 1683, 2 copies.

²⁸⁷ BL C120 h6 (6)

²⁸⁸ BL Add Ms. 20101 f.28

library 'many bustos, old pictures, and his printed collection of heads digested in near 40 large folio volumes neatly pasted and has dates to them etc making them curious and entertaining, also he has several large volumes of drawings of painters, their designs, sketches all regularly bound, but his collection of English heads are in London'.²⁹¹

Between 1731 and 1736, Lord Egmont and Queen Caroline kept up a lively discussion about 'printed heads' in which as the Queen said 'she had a concern'.²⁹² They discussed issues surrounding their collection, the motivation for making a collection as well as their presentation and preservation. The Queen coaxed Lord Egmont to lend her the volumes he compiled so carefully. Some of the volumes she requested for a second time and expressed her disappointment when eventually she had seen the entire collection saying that to look through them had given her 'a particular delight'.²⁹³ On 21 April 1735 she discussed with Lord Egmont the reasons for her fascination 'there is a particular satisfaction to see the portraits of eminent persons dead and gone but melancholy that such great actions are forgotten and that their glory remains in a sheet of paper'. When Lord Egmont suggested that he had made up the collection for his amusement, the Queen chided him, saying 'I think it is a very useful thing'. She agreed with Lord Egmont that arranging the collection chronologically was the most appropriate manner, and discussed with him the respective skills of 17th century engravers.²⁹⁴ (Appendix 4)

A careful search within the Print Room and Royal Library at Windsor Castle has failed to unearth any collection of printed portraits which could have been made by the Queen

²⁸⁹ Egmont, John Perival. *Diary* op cit. Vol. II. p.299

²⁹⁰ Vertue. *Notebooks* op cit. Vol. IV. p.65

²⁹¹ Ibid. Vol. V. p.55-56

²⁹² Egmont, John Perival. *Diary* op cit. Vol. I. p.311

during the second, third or fourth decades of the eighteenth century. There are compendiums of royal portraits, put together in the early 20th century, and containing only a small number of images of an early 18th century date. Two volumes of engravings do survive, one of which is dedicated to Queen Caroline as Princess of Wales in 1722 by Marie Maugis, the other without dedication. Both contain one hundred and fifty engraved 'heads' made by Nicholas Dorigny after Raphael's cartoons for the 'Acts of the Apostles' at Hampton Court Palace.²⁹⁵ Dorigny (1657-1746) had been encouraged to travel from Rome to complete the project initiated by Simon Gribelin (1661-1733) who in 1707 had completed a smaller and more limited set of prints after the Raphael Cartoons at Hampton Court. Both of these volumes can be identified within the Queen's library lists. Vertue notes that Dorigny presented the Princess with her own copy on April 1st 1722. It is possible that the second volume, without the dedication could be this copy.²⁹⁶

The aim of the Dorigny project was to produce large scale prints to satisfy the appetite of the growing number of connoisseurs. The collecting of prints became a way in which the polite middle class could involve themselves in fashionable antiquarianism. The producers rose to the challenge, and the supply of prints burgeoned allowing those of moderate means to buy into what can be construed as the beginning of a national heritage industry. Without the need for direct action in the political arena they could feel they were taking part in a small way in the contemporary debate about nationalism compiling engravings often of British worthies and heroes. Prints were cheaper than paintings and

²⁹³ Ibid. Vol II. p.51

²⁹⁴ Egmont, John Perival. *Diary* op cit. Vol. I. p.281 : Ibid. Vol. II. p.138

²⁹⁵ Royal Library 809052 with dedication. Royal Library 889053 without dedication

²⁹⁶ Vertue *Notebooks* op cit. Vol. I. pp.56-57

could also serve as a substitute for a collection of medals too. There were ample entrepreneurial opportunities for increasing the value of their collections by purchase and exchange.

From the early 17th century collections of images of members of the royal family and the great and good were readily available. *Baziliologia. A Book of Kings being the true and lively effigies of all our English Kings from the Conquest untill this present with their severall coats of arms, impresses and devises and a brief chronologie of their lives and deaths* in which the majority of the images were probably made by Renold Elstrode (1570-1625) was printed for Henry and Compton Holland from 1618. It was a collection of plates showing octavo portraits of English Kings with an introductory title page but no more. *Herologia Anglica* by Willem (1597-8?-1636-7) and Magdalena (1600-1638) de Passe which appeared on the market in 1620 was a series of uniform prints of half length portraits of English worthies. The prints were accompanied by a text again by Henry Holland, who had ensured that Willem de Passe had useful models to work after. Anthony van Dyck's *Iconography* comprises one hundred portraits of outstanding people of the 1620's and was published from Antwerp during the 1630's.²⁹⁷ Engravers such as Robert Vaughan had made up careful chronological series to illustrate particular dynasties. He wrote in 1650 to Sir Owen Wynn of Gwydir 'I only want the names of your ancestors from Owen Gwnedd to yourself, of which you are the 15th. For the faces I am at my own fancy till I come to Sir John Wyn your father, for the rest that are beyond him I

²⁹⁷ Discussed in Griffiths, A. *The Print in Stuart England 1602-1689* London. The British Museum Press. 1998. pp.50-52

think you have no true pictures of them extant'.²⁹⁸ By the later 17th century many great collections of prints had been compiled, including that of Ralph Thoresby, who had earlier acquired the great collections made by the parliamentary general, Thomas Fairfax, and Elias Ashmole. Samuel Pepys had three volumes of engraved portraits, to compare with his four volumes of topographical prints

Perhaps the Queen did not wish to participate actively in the print collecting fashion because of its middle class connotations though there is ample evidence she was aware of the contemporary fashion and had access to Knapton's popular volume of 'Printed Heads'.²⁹⁹ She may simply have been interested in collections such as that made by Lord Egmont for their academic content. Sitting as she did at the apex of the British sociological order, and being aware of the European princely museum tradition within which the dynastic portrait collection played an important part, did she feel it more appropriate that her initiative took the form of a picture collection. Did the Queen also see picture closet project as a precursor to the more considered line of kings and queen's sculptural scheme which was devised for the decoration of her new library at St James's in 1736-37? It is without doubt that the Queen made strenuous efforts to locate images of her Stuart, Tudor and Plantagenet predecessors but the opportunity for locating authentic painted images for the earlier period was very limited. Did she hope that for her sculptural schemes, she could ensure that any contemporary artist she employed would benefit from her research into the survival of visual images? The picture closet considered dispassionately had a patchy and eclectic collection governed by chance,

²⁹⁸ Hind, A.M. *Engraving in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. 3 Vol. Cambridge. Cambridge University Press. 1952-1964. Vol. III. p.49

financial means, the state of the Queen's knowledge, and by whim. I believe that the Queen enjoyed the dynamics of collecting almost more than delighting in the resulting scheme. In this she draws close to the enthusiastic middle class collectors of printed heads who delighted in the location of the elusive print needed to illustrate a particular class or to complete a sequence, and may explain her empathy with Lord Egmont. While the closet would eventually contain many very important works, as an integrated project it was compromised .

Even given the eclectic nature of the collection brought together in the Picture Closet, it still stands as the greatest accumulation of 15th and 16th century paintings in the royal collection in the early 18th century. From 1727, when it seems that the Queen 'discovered' the Holbein drawings at Kensington Palace one can chronicle her efforts at drawing together complementary material, and her enthusiasm and excitement at her achievement was noted by her contemporaries. She was prepared, according to Granger to 'beg' Lord Cornwallis to let her purchase panel paintings of early monarchs in his family collections, to extend her line of kings and queens back to the Middle Ages. The William Kent historical series, the subjects celebrating Henry V, one of her particular heroes, was paid for from her private Privy Purse monies. She carefully accumulated and displayed collections relating to the history of her Brunswick and Brandenburg ancestors, celebrated in particular those through whom links were forged with the houses of Tudor, Stuart and Hanover.

²⁹⁹ Egmont. *Diary* op cit. Vol.II. p.299.

But was the Queen in any way radical in pursuing this initiative? From a European perspective the Queen was following in a grand tradition and she had knowledge of several models to follow should she have wished. However the dynastic portrait collections held by many European royal houses had generally been assembled incrementally over many decades, and the Queen is unusual in having to initiate the project from scratch in the early 18th century.

The Queen's fascination with early images of members of the royal family proved intriguing to her immediate circle. Baron Wainright wrote to her Lady of the Bedchamber, Mrs Clayton, later Lady Sundon, in May 1733, saying that he was sending 'the head of Henry the Seventh put up carefully in a box directed to you.....' Baron Wainright had deduced that the head made of wood had once been part of the funerary effigy of Henry VII from Westminster Abbey. The Queen was without doubt familiar with this collection of full length images which had survived dating back to Queen Anne of Bohemia. There had been royal debate earlier about the conservation of the cast iron gates which screen Henry VII's Chapel, immediately adjacent to Bishop Inslip's chapel where the effigies were displayed.³⁰⁰

³⁰⁰ Hervey. *Memoirs* Edited Croker. op cit. vol. II p. 221 'My Lord Rochester carried us to Westminster Hall to show us a pair of old brass gates to Henry VII's chapel which were formerly overrun with rust and turned quite black but are now new cleaned and bright as when first made, and the finest things of the kind I ever saw in my life....and the Queen asked many questions about them and seemingly extremely pleased with the description, the king stopped the conversation short by saying 'My Lord, you are always putting some of these fine things in the Queen's head, and then I am plagued with a thousand plans and workmen'. Then turning to the Queen he said 'I suppose I shall see a pair of these gates to Merlin's cave to complete your nonsense there'. As noted earlier it is likely to be behind the royal initiative to fund the repair needed to the golden gates in the Chapel in 1735

The Queen's celebration of the antique extended well beyond the picture collection. From 1731, in a project running concurrently with the compiling of the 'Gallery of the English' collection, the east side of Clock Court at Hampton Court was rebuilt by William Kent in the gothic style, at the cost of £3454³⁰¹ Horace Walpole suggests that Sir Robert Walpole encouraged the Queen adopt a gothic scheme rather than an earlier classical design worked up by Kent, on the grounds that this would fit more appropriately with the fabric of the palace which survived adjacent.³⁰² The work, which involved the construction of a tower topped with semi-octagonal turrets leading to Fountain Court, was completed in 1732. In consideration to Henry VIII's great ceremonial palace, all the new elements are carefully identified and dated to ensure that there is no ambiguity in differentiating original and replacement fabric.

Perhaps because of the paucity of the art surviving from the earlier periods and her growing fascination with the 'antique' the Queen also seems to have a particular interest in the preservation and conservation of painting. There are descriptions of her actively visiting and promoting conservation projects. *The Gentleman's Magazine* on 15 July 1732 records that she took the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Cumberland and the five princesses to examine the paintings in the Great Hall of Chelsea Hospital, and then proceeded to Somerset House in the Prince of Wales new state barge, designed for him by William Kent, accompanied by a 'set of musick', where they 'view'd Mr Walton's progress in cleaning and mending the Royal Pictures'. On 12th January 1734 the King and Queen both visited the Banqueting House, Whitehall, where they climbed the

³⁰¹ TNA. Works 4/5 6 June 1731: TNA. T56/18 p.396

scaffold 'forty foot high' to view the conservation which had been undertaken on the ceiling canvases by Rubans since their condition was discovered to be parlous in about 1726.³⁰³ The occasion is also recorded by Kent at the end of a manuscript of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in the British Library.³⁰⁴ After an initial survey had been made, remedial work was commissioned from William Kent in 1732.³⁰⁵ In 1734 the Queen complimented William Kent on his work in relining and cleaned the paintings saying that he 'not only deserv'd thanks from the King but from all lovers of painting'.³⁰⁶

Inspections of the state of paintings at Hampton Court and at Windsor took place between about 1727 and 1731. At Hampton Court William Kent was paid £450 in 1735 for the conservation of the Queen's Staircase.³⁰⁷ Lord Egmont recorded that 'My Lord Pembroke told me that the cartoons of Raphael at Hampton Court had been rescued by him from rain in February 1731-2. Mantagna's 'Triumphs of Caesar' were provided with green genoa damask protective curtains 'between the pictures, over and under them', by Sarah Gilbert in 1737. They had been moved into the Queen's Gallery then termed the 'Green Gallery' for Caroline as Princess of Wales in 1725.³⁰⁸

In 1728 the royal couple made their first visit to Windsor Castle. The King did not return until 1730, when the Duke of Cumberland was created a Knight of the Order of the

³⁰² Walpole, Horace, Earl of Orford. *Anecdotes of Painting* Edited by Rev. J. Dalloway. 4 Vol. London. 1826-1828. Vol. II. 1862. p.564

³⁰³ TNA. Works 4/3 25 October 1726 : TNA. Works 6/15 p172.

³⁰⁴ BL. Ms. Rawlinson D540

³⁰⁵ TNA. Works 4/5 16 May 1732

³⁰⁶ The Queen's library list includes two copies of Gribelin's engravings made of the P.P. Rubans ceiling of the Banqueting House.

³⁰⁷ TNA. Works 5/141 1735

³⁰⁸ TNA. LC9/167 20r

Garter but the Queen quickly initiated various conservation projects. The Board of Works reported that the wall paintings illustrating the Black Prince's triumphs on the west wall of St George's Hall was disfigured by 'salts in the lime of the wall', and that the paintings in the court leading to the King's Great Staircase, and the Communication Gallery from the King's to the Queen's apartments were 'so decay'd and defaced that if they be not soon repaired it will be impossible to restore them.'³⁰⁹ Under William Kent restoration programmes to the staircase were set up from about 1730.³¹⁰ By 1731 the repairs to the Communication gallery were underway.³¹¹ The paintings by Verrio in the Chapel were conserved by Kent in 1736.³¹² He received the sum of £300 for these projects.³¹³ In 1732, an 'eminent painter,' possibly Kent once again, was asked by the Dean and Prebendaries of Windsor to 'clean and beautify' the altarpiece of St George's Chapel.³¹⁴

Individual works of art also received attention. In April 1735 John Kin was paid £45 for restoring the painting by Honthorst of the Duke of Buckingham introducing the sciences to Charles I and his Queen. When Vertue had difficulty reading the signature on the painted 'Memorial to Lord Darnley' he records, that not only did he discuss the matter with Mr Sykes, who had repaired the painting soon after it was acquired for the royal

³⁰⁹ Defoe, Daniel. *A Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain etc* 2 Vol. London, J.M. Dent. New York. E.V. Dent. Everyman Library. 1959. Vol. I. pp.305-6: TNA. T56/18 p352

³¹⁰ TNA. Works 4/4 7 July 1730, Kent 1730 'Repair'd the cracks and restoring fifteen ceilings and one of the King's Staircases from the top to the bottom: *Calender of Treasury Books and Papers. 1729-30.* p.402: TNA. AO1/2453/164.

³¹¹ TNA. Works 4/4 April 1731: *Calender of Treasury Books and Papers. 1731-4.* pp.63,65,89: TNA. AO1/2453/165.

³¹² TNA. Works 6/16 p44: TNA. AO1/2455/170: TNA. Works 4/7 July I 1736

³¹³ TNA. Works 4/4 16 Dec 1727.

³¹⁴ *Gentleman's Magazine* April 1732. p.320. 'The curious Representation of Our Lord's Supper over the Altar of the Cathedral of Windsor, having been much damaged by being buried in the Earth during the Usurpation of Oliver Cromwell, the Dean and Prebendaries of Windsor agreed with an eminent painter tpo clean and beautify it'.

collection, but that there had also been a 'review by several (others) at Kensington'.³¹⁵

The Queen's anxiety recorded by Lord Egmont, following the representations made to her to allow engraved copies to be made of the Holbein drawings, that they may be damaged in the process proved to be well founded. Vertue noted in 1743 that 'a great many were defaced or rubb'd....and by some less skilful hand has been outlin'd the features hard with a pen'.³¹⁶

Was such concern with preservation of the collection unusual? There is evidence from the early 17th century that there was an awareness and concern that the collection of paintings should be kept in good order. Van der Doort, made detailed notes for Charles I on the condition of each item purchased from Mantua prior to their removal to London. and when items were damaged in transit, repairs were carried out first by Jerome Lanier and later by Richard Greenbury. The task was not completed until 1657 and had cost the Crown £140. The responsibility for the conservation of the royal collection later passed to John de Critz, the Sergeant Painter, who worked with Daniel Boreau. In 1675 Gerrit Uylenburgh a cousin of Rembrandt's wife Saskia, arrived in London and was appointed 'Purveyor and Keeper of the King's Pictures for the better preservation of them from decay' for the annual fee of £100. Uylenburgh's tenure does not appear very long lasting, as by 1679, Parry Walton was appointed his successor as 'Cleanser of the Pictures', and retained this post, though it was later termed 'Mender and Repairer' into the reign of William II and Mary II. It was Parry Walton who undertaken an assessment of the Mantegna's 'Triumph of Caesar' series in about 1690. Eventually, apart from limited

³¹⁵ Vertue. *Notebooks* op cit. Vol. IV. p.105

³¹⁶ Vertue. *Notebooks* op cit. Vol.V. p.26

repairs and relining, the major repairs were entrusted to Louis Laguerre, (1663-1721), Sergeant Painter, and were completed by July 1701. On 10 July 1693, Walton undertook remedial work on the ceiling of the Banqueting House at Whitehall. William III specified that protective curtains be installed in front of the pictures hanging in his Closet at Kensington Palace.

So Queen Caroline may have had European precedent to follow in her development of a dynastic picture collection, and she was surrounded by those who were developing picture collections as part of the contemporary debate in Britain, seeking to establish a framework for the appraisal of ancient and early modern British history. She was not the first monarch to take pride in the royal collections, and to be concerned with their preservation. However, her particular enthusiasm is unusual as is her practical involvement in so many projects. The vision of the middle-aged Queen climbing scaffolding to view conservation in progress at the Banqueting House is particularly arresting. She also resolutely continued to pursue her artistic projects in the face of constant criticism from her husband, the King. The picture closet project gave her an outlet for her genealogical research and a topical subject for discussion with those in both her immediate circle and those in the artistic and intellectual community she aspired to be a part of.

It is interesting to speculate whether the Queen had any other more practical reason to pursuing her project. There is every indication that the project was a private initiative financed by the Queen out of her private monies and put together following her particular

whim. George Vertue however was sufficiently aware of its existence to realise that it could provide a useful source of images for his line of kings made for the Knapton series of printed heads. Whether he gained this information about the room tucked away in the heart of Kensington Palace through the Prince of Wales is unclear, though it was through the Prince that he sought access. It is more likely that it was the presence of the Holbein drawings within the scheme, which ensured there was an awareness of the closet within artistic and literary circles. The Queen had done much to publicise the drawings in the years since their re-discovery. Even if Frederick, Prince of Wales engineered Vertue's first visit to examine the extent of the picture collection in the closet, this was made in 1734, in the Queen's lifetime, and without doubt she would have been aware of his presence. In 1735, again in the Queen's lifetime, Vertue records that he was allowed access to Hampton Court to make a drawing from a Van Dyck there of Charles I.³¹⁷

Later commentators would appear to have good knowledge of the Kensington picture hang, probably because of Vertue's work, which as has been noted by the mid century was published and was circulating widely. His engravings made of the ancient King's of England some specifically from models at Kensington were equally popular. By 1738, T. Cox in his six volume *Magna Britannia Antiqua* was able to claim that the collection of pictures there was 'much the best.....of any of the royal palaces'.³¹⁸ Horace Walpole recording the collections of Hardwick House noted that the painting of Richard III which

³¹⁷ Vertue *Notebooks* op cit. Vol. IV. p.74

³¹⁸ Cox, T. *Magna Britannia Antiqua* 6 vol. London. 1738. Vol III. p.47

hung in the long gallery at Hardwick Hall was identical to the image which hung at Kensington.³¹⁹

For those interested in medieval and Tudor portraiture there was awareness that the Queen had amassed an important collection of 15th and 16th century royal portraiture. Horace Walpole in a letter to John Pinkerton written in 1795 suggests that the Queen had drawn together at Kensington all the images she could find surviving. However the panel paintings she seems to have worked so hard to secure from Lord Cornwallis, the only group of paintings which truly celebrated the medieval origins of the royal line, while hanging at Kensington were in her private rooms well away from any public space. The mysterious painting of King Alfred may have hung there too. Their inclusion in the picture closet would have allowed a debate about the medieval links between the House of Brunswick, Hanover and England, which was being explored by contemporary historians. To account for their absence do we have to look to another reason for the purchase of these paintings; perhaps they were intended as models for the Queen's last sculptural series commissioned from Rysbrack for her library in 1737.

On May 30 1743 Vertue returned to Kensington with an order to the Housekeeper from the Lord Chamberlain, the Duke of Grafton, allowing him to copy within the Queen's picture closet 'all those heads from pictures drawn or painted by Holben'.³²⁰ Later in the company of the Prince of Wales, Knappton, and Mr Schroder, Secretary to the Prince, he spent at least three hours viewing all the pictures both in the public and private

³¹⁹ Walpole. *Horace Walpole's Journal of Visits to Country Seats*. op cit. p.30

³²⁰ Vertue. *Notebooks* op cit. Vol. V. p.21

apartments at Kensington.³²¹ He later recorded that it had taken him four months to make the record of the picture hang in the Queen's Closet.³²²

Vertue was not the first artist to be given permission to work after the Kensington paintings. Earlier in August 1728 the painter Jeremy Davidson had been given permission to copy the van Dyck's and the Titian's. Vertue while visiting Kensington in 1730 to make his own copy of van Dyck's Charles I on Horseback, had observed 'Davison, an ingenious young painter'.³²³ Both Davidson and Vertue later were given rooms from which to undertake their projects.³²⁴ In March 1727 Micheal Rysbrack had been given permission to make copies of Rusconi's 'four boys of the four seasons' in the King's Gallery.³²⁵

It is interesting to speculate whether the Queen may have considered the 'Gallery of the English' project a useful teaching aid in the education of her children. It is evident that the Queen took great trouble to secure the most able tutors for those of her offspring whose education she was able to oversee. Prince William Augustus and also Princesses Anne, Amelia and Caroline and their little sisters Louisa and Mary took art lessons, the older girls from Philip Mercier, the Prince and the younger girls from Bernard Lens.³²⁶

³²¹ Ibid. Vol. IV. pp.65-67.

³²² Ibid. Vol. V. p.26

³²³ Ibid. Vol. IV. p.65

³²⁴ TNA. LC5/160 p.93

³²⁵ TNA. LC5/158 p.492 : TNA. LC5/159 p.1

³²⁶ Vertue. *Notebooks* op cit. Vol .III. p.72, reference to Philip Mercier as drawing master of the elder princesses: TNA. LC5/ 160. 4 January 1732 'Mr Bernard Lens for his lodging at Hampton Court last summer to teach the Duke, princess mary and Princess Louisa to draw. £62.18.00: .TNA. LC5/20. 1 November 1737 'Mr Bernard Lens, painter in enamel, drawing master to ye young princesses at Hampton Court last summer. £18.19.0: TNA. LC5/73 f.91r. Richmond 23 December 1732. 'a walnutree table with drawers and casters with a leather cover for Princess Royal to draw on'

All the children were taught lathe turning and gem-stone working. The Queen would escort her daughters as well as her two sons on visits to collectors and artists. In 1734, the princesses were joined by the Prince William Henry of Orange, Princess Anne's future husband, on their visit to van der Myn in his studio.³²⁷ All the princesses were provided with painting desks for their apartments and there is evidence surviving that Princess Anne, Princess Caroline and Princess Mary were gifted amateur artists.³²⁸

Lord Egmont describes being shown in December 1733 at the Queen's order, copies after van Dyck, Titian and Carlo Marat made by Princess Anne. Egmont claims that they were 'as well done as I believe any other painter in London could have finished them'.³²⁹ After the family visit to van der Myn's studio, according to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, Frederick, Prince of Wales encouraged his sister Anne to draw van der Myn's portrait herself. It is recorded in the *Gentleman's Magazine* that this was completed 'with a delicate and masterly execution and very like'.³³⁰ Vertue later recorded Mercier's comment that Anne who 'never drew or painted any peece without his being witness – never drew from the life at any time tho' she had drawn & copyd many several copies in Oyl painting done by her' on this occasion had in fact just touched a brush to the canvas to satisfy van der Myn.³³¹

The younger princesses followed in Anne's footsteps. Horace Walpole noted in his *Journal of Visits to Country Seats* that in 1728 Princess Amelia's bedroom was decorated

³²⁷ *Gentleman's Magazine* April 1734, p.216

³²⁸ TNA, LC9/166 22r. Kensington. 'Two boxes of drawers with partitions to hold colours. Two mahogany stands to paint on'

³²⁹ Egmont, John Perival. *Diary* op cit. Vol. 1. p.466

with pictures painted by her younger sister Caroline.³³² Princess Caroline's oil painting of a shepherd and shepherdess after Mercier was presented to Lady Susan Keck, her Lady of the Bedchamber. This survives in the collection of Lord Neidpath. (Figure 97) A drawn copy she made of a mezzotint of Lord Buckhurst and Lady Mary Sackville, by John Smith after Kneller was given in 1732 to Frances, Countess of Hertford, her mother's Lady of the Bedchamber and another copy made this time after a painting by Pater was reacquired by the Royal Collection in recent years.³³³ Princess Mary's collection of landscapes made in 1733 when she was just ten years old survive with books from her library in the Schloss Fasanerie at Fulda.³³⁴ (Figure 98) She also painted a portrait miniature of her sister Louisa, dressed as the character of 'Spring'. The backing paper includes a note that the work was produced as a present for Queen Caroline, who subsequently stored it carefully in a snuff box. In the Queen's death it passed to Prince William Augustus and it survives now in the Print Room at Windsor Castle. (Figure 99) Queen Caroline own artistic endeavours seem to have been restricted to needlework. She sent a quilt and two cushions she had embroidered to Lady Elizabeth Smithson, whose husband was later created 1st Duke of Northumberland.³³⁵ The princesses were evidently competent needlewomen also. In 1736 a 'walnutree chair, the seat stuffed and the cover to be of Princess Mary's own embroidery' was prepared for the Prince of Wales's closet

³³⁰ *Gentleman's Magazine*. April 1734. p.216

³³¹ Vertue. *Notebooks* op cit. Vol. III. p.72

³³² Walpole. *Horace Walpole's Journal of Visits to Country Seats* op cit. p.17

³³³ The copy after Kneller survives in the collection of the Duke of Northumberland. The copy after Pater is in the Royal Collection, PR. K459

³³⁴ Kurhessische Hausstiftung Archiv. Schloss Fasanerie, Fulda

³³⁵ See Roberts. *The Hon Jane. Royal Artists from Mary Queen of Scots to the Present Day*. London. Grafton Books. 1987. p.53. The quilt is preserved in the collection at Syon House

at St James's.³³⁶ Anne completed a design for embroidery to be worked by her sister Caroline in 1747.³³⁷

Frederick, the eldest son of George II and Queen Caroline had been born in Hanover in 1707. He did not join his parents in London until December 1728, when he was twenty-one years old. Despite the fact that his mother, who appears to have had such a powerful influence on the interests and attitudes of his siblings, had no control over his education in Hanover, Frederick was quickly drawn into artistic and intellectual circles in London. Despite a continuing estrangement from both his parents, Frederick seems to have taken the Queen's friends Sir Robert Walpole and Lord Burlington as his models in the sphere of artistic patronage. He commissioned work from William Kent at the same time as Kent was assisting the Queen with her projects. They celebrated the same worthies and heroes, including King Alfred, Edward III, Henry V and Charles I. It is hard to untangle the chronology of commissions between the two royal rivals. The Queen, however, had the greater sway with the artistic community, more opportunity to see her projects realized and greater means. While neither party discusses the nature and detail of their rivalry the competing artistic programmes stand as evidence of their competitiveness.

Following her marriage and her removal to The Hague, Princess Anne packed up her paintings and her examples of lathe turning and took them with her. They appear to have been installed initially in the Huis ten Bosch. She continued to paint, obviously gaining in confidence and was soon spending significant sums on art supplies, and according to

³³⁶ TNA. LC5/73 f.151r

Philip Mercier started working from life. An inventory of the Dutch royal collections shows that by 1757 there were sixty six paintings by the Princess hanging either in the Huis ten Bosch or at Het Loo. A further thirty two are listed in an inventory made the following year.³³⁸ The Princess made many paintings at the request of her relatives. They were presented as gifts to Frederick the Great and Frederick, Prince of Wales amongst others.³³⁹ At least ten examples of Anne's painting, including a number of flower pieces and a competent self portrait based on an anonymous portrait in the Stadholder's collection in the Mauritshuis, survive in the Dutch Royal Collection in The Hague.³⁴⁰ (Figure 99) Her work is unsigned but she has a distinct painterly style strongly influenced by the work of Mercier. The collection returned to The Hague from the castle Oranienstein in principality of Dietz, once owned by the royal house of Orange-Nassau in 1812. The inventories of the Oranienstein made in 1802 carefully mention Anne as artist.

The Queen appointed Sir Andrew Fountaine, her Vice Chamberlain, and a noted art connoisseur as tutor to her younger son, William Duke of Cumberland. Hervey was to remark of Sir Andrew 'Lord Burlington could not make a better ragout of paintings, statues, gilding and vertu'.³⁴¹ Henry Flitcroft was asked to instruct the young prince in the principles of architecture and a printing press was set up for the Prince at St James's

³³⁷ Koninklijk Huisarchief. The Hague. The Netherlands. KH A17/430 cited in Campbell Orr *Queenship in Britain* op cit. King, Richard G. 'Anne of Hanover and Orange' p.184

³³⁸ Koninklijk Huisarchief. The Hague. The Netherlands. KH A17/415 'Inventaris der mobelen...op 't Huys D'Orange...op den 28 September 1758' cited in Drossaers, S. et al. *Inventarissen van de Inboedels in de Verblijven van de Oranjes (1567-1795)*. The Hague. 1974. p.185

³³⁹ Koninklijk Huisarchief. The Hague. The Netherlands. KH A17/430. Letter from Frederick the Great 16 April 1740: KH A17/430. Letter from Frederick, Prince of Wales asking Princess Anne for a painting of her daughter Caroline for his collection, 12 May 1745. Quoted in Campbell Orr, Clarissa *Queenship in Britain* op cit. King, Richard G. 'Anne of Hanover and Orange' pp.183-185

³⁴⁰ Mauritshuis. The Hague. The Netherlands. Catalogue 504

³⁴¹ Hervey, John, Baron. *Lord Hervey and his Friends* op cit. p.54

Palace. He would print his own small booklet entitled *The Laws of Dodge Hare* in 1731, according to the *Gentleman's Magazine*.³⁴² While the Duke later became a professional soldier, he made a number of interesting purchases of paintings.³⁴³

There is evidence that the royal children benefited from the Queen's art library. The library lending lists provides evidence that books were passed round the family. In 1734 there is a note that 'La reine a fait present a Madame la Princesse Caroline des plans de Maisons et de Jardins de Holande', which Sir Matthew Daker had sent to the Queen earlier.³⁴⁴

The Queen's collection of art books was extensive. There was a collection relating to the royal collection specifically with publications such as Dorigny's and Gribelin's compendiums of engravings of the picture collection at Hampton Court Palace.³⁴⁵ There were two copies of the Gribelin engravings of Rubens's ceiling of the Banqueting House, and the library lending list shows that another Gribelin compendium contained engravings made of pictures at Kensington in 1712. There were titles which relate to her friends and art advisers including *Designs of Inigo Jones* by William Kent, the *Plans, Elevations & Sections, Chimneypieces & Ceilings of Houghton in Norfolk, the Seat of the Right Honable Sir Robert Walpole* published by Isaac Ware and Colen Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Reflecting the Queen's interest in Westminster Abbey she owned

³⁴² *Gentlemans Magazine* February 1731.

³⁴³ David Morier's set of military picture show uniforms of various regiments and view of the Battle of Drottingholm. The Prince also purchased works by Sandby, Richard Wilson, Sawrey Gilpin.

³⁴⁴ BL. C120 h.6 (6)

³⁴⁵ BL Add Ms. 11511 contains the titles: *Pinocatheca Hamptoniana. Continens Septem de Actis Apostolorum Tabulas Pictis in cartis a Raphaelae sanctio Urbinate et a Nicola Dorigny delinatis...* fol: *Tableaux de sa Majestie en Hampton Court etc* Grave par Jim Gribelin.

Westmonsterium. Or the History and Antiquities of the Abbey Church of St Peter, Westminster published by In. Dart. Her standard art historical texts were *The Painting of the Antients in three parts by Franciscus Junius*, *Histoire de la Peinture Ancienne. Extraite de l'Histoire Naturelle* the text by Pliny, *The Art of Painting* by C.A de Fresnoy, bound with an essay by 'Mr' Dryden concerning parallels between painting and poetry and copies of Vitruvius, and Benevuto Cellini. The library movement lists show that the *Heads of the King's and Queen's of England* was bought from Paul Vaillant and Mr Desnoyer on 2 January 1736.³⁴⁶ The plans of Sir Robert Walpole's House were sent from the library at St James's to Kensington for the Queen's use in June 1736.

To aid the organisation of her medal collection the Queen owned *A Science des Medailles Antique et Moderne* in an edition published in Amsterdam in 1717 together with *Medailles du Cabinet du Roy* and *Suite de Medaillons du Cabinet du Roy* published in Paris in 1682. A note in the record of book movements that the Queen had taken *Medailles du Cabinet du Roy*, *Medailles de Louis le Grand* and 'un livre de medailles en latin' to Kensington Palace in December 1736 serves as evidence that the books were consulted.

If the Queen saw the picture closet having a benefit as an educational tool it had limited success. None of the Queen's children with the exception of Frederick Prince of Wales aspired to creating a dynastic portrait collection. However their enlightened programme of studies ensured that at least three become competent amateur artists and they all maintained a lively interest in the arts.

³⁴⁶ BL C120.h.6 (6)

So was the major impetus for the 'gallery of the English' fashion or duty - or can one attribute a deeper political agenda? As a dynastic picture collection the scheme is severely compromised. When compared with the royal portrait series' in Dresden or in Berlin both in quantity, quality and the uniformity of presentation, the Queen's picture closet falls short. While there are groups of images showing her German relations, and a significant group of images of English monarchs, there is no attempt to arrange the images in a strictly chronological order, or to celebrate the complicated connections between the royal houses. It is at Hampton Court that Caroline puts together a series of portraits exploring dynastic links between the houses of Tudor, Stuart and Hanover. In the Queen's Gallery at Kensington she arranged a tidy chronological hang of full length English royal portraits framed up uniformly.

The picture closet was dominated by the Holbein drawings hanging four deep on the west wall and this, I believe, is the key to understanding the Queen's motives as she arranged the room. It is evident that the Queen had been delighted to re-discover the drawings, and fully realised the artistic importance of the works. Initially she simply invited her friends to come and view them but later took a robust view of the requests for engravings to be made of the drawings thereby ensuring they could be made available to a wider community, only being concerned that they were not damaged in the process.

The Holbein drawings were taken by the Queen to Richmond Lodge, her retreat at Kew, following their re-discovery. Following the accession, however, one sees the dynamic

between the royal residences change. George II and Caroline spent more time at St James's Palace, just an easy walk from Kensington Palace which George I had left in good order, its new state rooms designed and decorated by the young dynamic team, Colen Campbell and William Kent. While the Queen still enjoyed the gardens at Kew, and built her two rustic pavilions, the Hermitage and Merlin's Cave there, Kensington Palace became the regular venue where the Queen met her friends. It was there that she chose to establish her *wunderkammer* and to hang the cream of the royal picture collection. She reserved just a small number of pictures with particular associations to hang elsewhere. The Kent history series, paid for out of her private purse hung in her private rooms at St James's, the beginnings of a painted contemporary worthies scheme was installed in her private rooms at Windsor. Hampton Court with its large and lofty rooms provided a suitable space for the Tudor/Stuart/Hanoverian full length dynastic series.

When the Queen first visited the room which later became her picture closet it was firmly set within the King's traditional province within the palace. Hanging in the room she found only a Caracci of Lucretia, a Dominico of St Agnes, and an important early half length portrait of Elizabeth I as a teenager. The Caracci was retained and later hung on the chimneypiece, the young Elizabeth remained over one of the southern doors. Was it the presence of this last compelling painting that led the Queen to consider moving the Holbein drawings here? Around them the Queen drew together related works by Holbein himself, and by his circle, together with a collection of work associated with the Tudor Court, whose members Holbein had recorded in such detail. Henry VIII was celebrated in

the early 18th century as father of the 16th century English Renaissance, under whom England saw a new unity and prosperity. For the royal family he was the bright star of the Tudor dynasty who the House of Hanover claimed as their inspiration. The Queen's library show she owned a substantial number of books on Tudor political and constitutional history and a very large number of biographies concerning Tudor monarchs, which according to the log of book movements the Queen consulted on occasion.³⁴⁷ It is intriguing to notice that Hampton Court, Henry VIII's great ceremonial palace, was sufficiently venerated that the new works of the 1730's were designed to compliment the original fabric but were carefully dated that they could be easily identified as later additions. The significant concentration of Holbein's work celebrating the Tudor court in the picture closet, uniformly presented and densely hung, rightly may have struck contemporary observers as a celebration of 'the English'. For both Vertue and Lord Egmont who record their visits to the picture closet it was the collection of Holbein's that was the most outstanding feature.

The Queen would have felt some responsibility to uphold a notion of 'Englishness' and even 'Britishness'. As Princess of Wales, on her arrival in London in 1714, she would have been very aware that George I was regarded as 'foreign' and 'strange'. With her husband she made strenuous efforts to learn English, and employed an exclusively English court. As noted earlier the young royal couple associated themselves with English tradition, introducing country dances into court balls and arranging public rural

³⁴⁷ BL C120.h6 (7) 'le 9 dec 1736 recu de la part de Milord Hervey pour la Reine les livres suivans' The Reign of Queen Elizabeth'

sports at Hampton Court Palace.³⁴⁸ Caroline, as Princess of Wales made efforts to explore matters relating to Welsh consciousness.

Despite this the Queen chose to complete her picture closet scheme with many more images dating from the 17th and even early 18th century, and of a variety of media. The marrying together of the 'English' and the dynastic collections throws up many thematic discontinuities. The only unifying factor was their small size and that they were almost exclusively portraits but without doubt the hang thus created was spectacular. There were many portraits of members of the houses of Saxony, Brandenburg, Brunswick, Lüneburg and Ansbach, houses with whom the Queen had particular association, as well as the rulers of Bohemia, Poland, France and Denmark. (Figure 100) In completing her project in this way should we see Caroline seduced by the contemporary fashion for collecting 'heads'. Caroline in her discussions with Lord Egmont describes her pleasure in 'calling to mind all the great people of past time,' and mulling over the thought that their deeds came to be represented only by their image. Perhaps there were more practical conditioning factors. An examination of the picture lists of all the other royal residences for this period reveals that this was by far the greatest concentration of such portraits and the Queen who enjoyed genealogical research would have enjoyed pulling this collection together. It is likely this collection represents the full extent of family dynastic portraiture the Queen was able to assemble.

³⁴⁸ Gay, J. *The Letters of John Gay* Edited by C.F.Burgess. Oxford. Clarendon Press. 1966. p.16: *Political State of Great Britain* XII. 1716. pp.139-140: *The Saturday Post* 29 Sept. 1716.

It is also significant that the closet was essentially a private space with no access to anyone but members of the Queen's inner circle. The small size of the room as well as the dense hang was calculated for dramatic effect. Has the Queen sought as in her Kew projects created another secret sensory experience? It would have been experienced in a very different way to the elegant regularity of the full length dynastic portrait hang established in the Queen's gallery, a large and by contrast public space, just a few rooms away.

I believe in the picture closet the Queen enjoyed the beauty of the Holbein drawings and reveled in their chance discovery. She indulged her youthful passion for geneaeological research into the history of her family and the leading families of her adopted country. The Queen's picture closet project remains too individual and personal to serve any major propaganda role except within the Queen's immediate circle. It did however serve to reinforce her reputation as an 'encourager' of the arts.

After the Queen's death George II shut up her rooms and ordered that none of her possessions should be moved. Horace Walpole in a letter to Sir Horace Mann wrote in August 1749 claiming the King 'has locked up half the palace (Kensington) since the Queen's death so he does at St James's'.³⁴⁹ In 1758 Walpole commented that the wood laid in her bedroom hearth on the day she died was still in place.³⁵⁰ The King did not use Hampton Court Palace after 1737 and he had never cared for Windsor Castle. When he died in 1760, his grandson George III chose to develop the Queen's House, later to be

³⁴⁹ Walpole. *Correspondence* Edited Lewis and Riley. op cit. vol IV. p.88

³⁵⁰ Walpole. *Horace Walpole's Journal of Visits to Country Seats* op cit. pp.15-16

called Buckingham Palace as his principal residence. The distinguished collections at Kensington were an obvious source from which he selected pictures for his new rooms. As *The London and Westminster Guide* of 1768 stated 'some of the apartments which were capable of it were kept up in a real state of magnificence during the late King's reign and possessed of many excellent pictures, but they have been grabbed for the Queen's Palace'. The same journal notes that other paintings moved to Hampton Court.³⁵¹

The breaking up of the picture closet probably had begun already. As early as 1761 it seems that 'a batch of miniatures and a chest of enameled pictures' had been moved.³⁵² By June 1783 Horace Walpole recorded inspecting at Buckingham Palace 'six large frames glazed over red damask' containing 'a vaste quantity of enameled pictures, miniatures & cameos amongst six or eight at least of Charles I', and adds that these were 'the best of those that were in Queen Caroline's Closet at Kensington'.³⁵³ Many of the Queen's picture hangs in other rooms at Kensington were dismantled at the same time with many works moving to Buckingham Palace and Hampton Court Palace.

The Holbein drawings, still in their black lacquer frames were amongst the collections moved to Buckingham Palace and by 1774 they had been mounted in two volumes within the King's Library. These volumes were reserved by George IV when he presented his father's library to the nation in the 1820's, and were taken to Windsor Castle for the new Royal Library there. At the instructions of Albert, the Prince Consort, the drawings were

³⁵¹ *The London and Westminster Guide* 1768. pp.18-20

³⁵² BL Add Ms. 20101 f.53

taken out of the volumes and provided with the first of a series of mounts. The drawings survive in the Print Room at Windsor, now encapsulated between two thin sheets of acrylic set into an acid free double sided mounts.

Despite this it is interesting to discover in 1795 Horace Walpole writing to John Pinkerton informing him that he was not able to advise him on the location of a certain painting of James IV of Scotland but adding that many of the remaining royal portraits collected together by Queen Caroline still hung in Kensington Palace.³⁵⁴ When James Stephanoff recorded the arrangements within the Queen's Gallery in about 1815, the collection of full length portraits of English monarchs, arranged chronologically was still in place.

I have looked carefully through the records of the Royal Collection held in St James's Palace, and also checked in the Royal Library, Windsor Castle to see whether the remaining contents of the picture closet can still be identified. The collection of Cooper's, the Oliver's and the Tudor portraits are easy to trace and many of the miniatures can still be identified. Under George III there were evidently dispersals. Raphael's 'Two Mice' is found in the inventory of Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Portland's Museum compiled on her death in 1785. It was amongst the small collection of artifacts reserved as a bequest to her friend Mary Granville, Mrs Delany.³⁵⁵ However it is difficult to find the more unusual items, such as the wax portraits, the textiles and automata. A few of the lots

³⁵³ Walpole. *Horace Walpole's Journal of Visits to Country Seats* op cit. pp.78-80

³⁵⁴ Walpole. *Correspondence* Edited Lewis and Riley. op cit. Vol. XVI. p.322

described in Queen Charlotte's sale; a portrait of 'Charles I very old embroidery in coloured silk', 'four portraits modeled in wax' sound similar to the descriptions in Vertue's catalogue.³⁵⁶ It is recorded that some Kensington pictures made their way to the Queen's apartments in Buckingham Palace, but as part of the core royal collection. They should not have been in the Queen's gift to sell.³⁵⁷

In 1797 when George III allocated apartments in Kensington Palace to his sons, Edward, Duke of Kent received the room formerly used as the picture closet as part of his suite. Under the Duchess of Kent, and her architect Jeffrey Wyattville the room was divided and was eventually used by her and her daughter, Princess, later Queen Victoria.

Those who enjoyed the privileged access to the Queen's picture closet were aware that it contained some very important works of art. The Holbein drawings above all were admired, and the Queen was urged in 1736 to allow a set of engravings to be made. Overcoming early reservations that the drawings would be damaged in the copying process, George Vertue was allowed to start work on an engraved series. In 1776 'Nine Historical Portraits representing King's, Queen's, Prince's etc of the Tudor Family' was published. His tracings of thirty four of the Holbein drawings survive in the collection of Sudeley Castle. They had been sold by the auctioneer Mr Ford as lot 83 at George Vertue's sale in 1757 as 'A portfolio with thirty five drawings taken by permission from

³⁵⁵ Walpole, H. *The Duchess of Portland's Museum* Introduction by W.S.Lewis. New York. The Grolier Club. 1936. p.9. 'To her friend Mrs Delany She bequeathed& also Raphael's Mice from the Royal Collection.....'

³⁵⁶ Christie, Manson and Wood. *Queen Charlotte Sale* Day 1 May 17 1819 lot 120. 'Head of Peter Oliver in oil':

³⁵⁷: Walpole. *Horace Walpole's Journal of Visits to Country Seats* op cit. pp.78-79. 'they are taken from Kensington to BP for Queen Charlotte'

the original heads of eminent persons painted by Hans Holbein in the Royal Collection at Kensington Palace by Mr Vertue'. The lot was bought by Horace Walpole for £18.2s.6d. On 17 May 1842, they were sold on again as lot 32 on the 20th day of Horace Walpole's sale at Strawberry Hill as 'An interesting series of 34 Portraits of remarkable personages of the Court of Henry VIII. They are tracings on oil paper by Vertue and Muntz from the original drawings by Holbein in the Royal Collection at Buckingham House in black and gold frames'. They sold for the sum of £36.10s.³⁵⁸

In the 1790's John Chamberlaine, the Royal Librarian published a set of engraved reproductions of the drawings, which had been made by Francesco Bartolozzi. However even before this major series of images became available the discussion circulating about the Queen's find had brought the work of Holbein to a wide and enthusiastic audience. Vertue noted in 1741 that Lady Betty Germaine owned four drawings which related to the Queen's and spotted four more being offered for sale in 1745.³⁵⁹

There were those in the Queen's circle made their own painted worthies series in imitation. Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough writing to her granddaughter described the collection of portraits made by Lord and Lady Sundon. 'There are eight square pieces in two rows on the side of Lady Sundon over her head the first is Dr Friend, Dr Clarke, Sir Isaac Newton, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Tillotson, Locke and three other great philosophers whose I cannot remember. And the eight which is nearer to my Lady Sundon in the same row with these philosophers is drawn rich as the Queen's but in a

³⁵⁸ John Robins, auctioneer. *Strawberry Hill Sale* 20th day. 1842. lot 32.

³⁵⁹ Vertue. *Notebooks* op cit. Vol.V. p.21: Vertue. *Notebooks* op cit. Vol. IV. p.26

familiar way'.³⁶⁰ Lady Mary Wortley Montagu in an essay written in 1738 notes 'I had some thoughts of establishing a set of pictures of some meritorious ladies'.³⁶¹

If one accepts that the picture closet can be seen as the Queen's particular approach to the contemporary fashion for collecting 'heads', the trend continued to develop throughout the first half of the 18th century. Vertue, who had spent so much time recording the Queen's collection, was employed by Dr Ducarel in 1744 as 'an advisor' for his own printed 'Heads' project. By July 1744 he could report 'your new volumes of collections are now done and bound, which I may venture to affirm are the most considerable collection of the kind in the country'.³⁶² Horace Walpole pasted engraved portraits into twelve large folios which were stored in his library. The bookcases made after the gothic style were decorated with roundels containing painted portraits of worthies.

The Queen's interest in the Tudor dynasty was echoed in her circle. Elizabeth Montagu when sitting for her portrait by Zincke in 1740, chose a costume after a portrait of Anne Boleyn. In 1742 writing to Mrs Donnallan, Elizabeth Montagu describes Augusta, Princess of Wales dressed for a ball in 'a vast number of jewels and was in Queen Elizabeth's dress'.³⁶³

The widespread circulation of the Bickham guidebooks to Kensington Palace, Hampton Court and Windsor Castle in the 1750's brought the contents of the palaces to a much

³⁶⁰ Churchill, Sarah. *Letters of a Grandmother* op cit. p.155

³⁶¹ Halsband, R. *The Life of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu* Oxford. Clarendon Press. 1956. p.168

³⁶² Nichols, J. *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*. 6 vol. London. Nichols, Son and Bentley. 1812. Vol VI. pp.149-150

wider audience. While physical access to Kensington remained difficult, the Queen's collection, particularly of medieval and Tudor portraiture became sufficiently well known for it to be used as a standard and reference point for those with similar interests.

I can find no discussion of the Queen's picture closet in contemporary newspapers and journals. However, there does seem a general awareness of the Queen's interest in art, and she is celebrated in her lifetime and after her death as a 'promoter' and 'encourager'. As has been discussed earlier when a medal for struck by Jernegan for his lottery he selected an image of the Queen for the obverse surrounded by emblems of the arts and sciences, with the motto 'Both hands filled for Britain'. The reverse has an image of the Queen watering small palm trees from a watering can, with the motto 'Caroline protecting'.

Within the royal family it was the personal nature of the project which worked against its long term preservation. Following the Queen's death, the arrangements were zealously guarded by George II until his death in 1760. Frederick, Prince of Wales who took pride in showing off his mother's collection to his own circle, predeceased his father. George III following his accession had a different set of artistic ambitions which he would chose to realize in another location. He was deeply aware of the estrangement between his father and George II and Queen Caroline, and felt no sentimental attachment either to Kensington Palace or the collections there.

³⁶³ Climenson, E.J. ed. *Elizabeth Montagu. The Queen of the Blue Stocking, her Correspondence from 1720-1761* 2 vol. London. John Murray. 1906. Vol. I. p.47

It is interesting to speculate how the picture closet might have developed should the Queen have lived longer. Just as with the worthies schemes, particularly the programme devised for Merlin's Cave and in relation to the composition of the Queen's *wunderkammer* which will be discussed later there were inconsistencies. All the projects were put together speedily and reflected the Queen's current enthusiasms. In the case of the worthies sculptural series as time passed and she became more involved in the contemporary archaeological debate her schemes became better grounded in solid research. I believe the Queen may have considered developing the collections at Windsor Castle at some future date. This is the royal residence with the most ancient and venerable pedigree, and most fitted to serve as an English Valhalla. Her interest in the conservation of Verrio's frescoes celebrating the Order of the Garter, and her possible involvement in the setting up of statues of Edward II and the Black Prince in the months before her death, might indicate her thoughts were turning towards a renaissance for this location. It is entirely possible that the picture closet too would have been edited had the Queen lived longer allowing her motivation for its creation to be more clearly defined.

CHAPTER 3

QUEEN CAROLINE AND THE *WUNDERKAMMER*

In this chapter I will discuss the *wunderkammer* which Queen Caroline installed in two adjacent rooms on the first floor of the north-east pavilion at Kensington Palace.³⁶³ It was here that she brought together items she purchased, those with which she was presented and most significantly those she located surviving from the cabinets compiled by her royal predecessors.

The north-east pavilion forms part of the building commissioned by William III and Mary II, following their purchase of Nottingham House, its gardens and land, from Daniel Finch, 2nd Earl of Nottingham in 1690. The pavilion contained three floors with garrets above. Initially the upper floor was occupied with the Council Chamber. Thomas Hill, the mason, in 1690 gives some indication that rooms on the lower floors may have been allocated to William III's friend and advisor, Lord Portland.³⁶⁴ The floors were connected with a small staircase which ran up the west wall.

Under George I the two rooms seem to have been fitted out as a new library. In February 1720 he gave directions that his own collection of books be moved from its existing accommodation on the second floor of the palace adjacent to his bedchamber. The cost for taking down the presses, altering them, re-erecting them in the new library, 'making good the wainscot in the old library' and 'other necessary work' was estimated at £40. It

³⁶³ Kensington Palace room number FF041

³⁶⁴ TNA. Works 19/48/1 11-13

actually cost just 2s.8d. less.³⁶⁵

In 1721 there are references to a new set of window curtains being ordered and shelves trimmed with green cloth borders and green silk galloon, being fixed up with gilt pillar nails. In May 1724 three back stools and an easy chair were purchased.³⁶⁶ In April 1720, hangings were removed from a corner closet and the Audience Room and were re-erected in the room adjacent to the Library.³⁶⁷

The first reference to these rooms being used for the storage and display of 'Curiosities' is found in BM.Add.Ms.20101. Folio 60 comprises an inventory of a 'Cabinet of Curiositys and Medals' stored in a room called 'His Majestys Library' at Kensington Palace. There is a careful note that the author was 'Mrs Pursell' and that she had delivered the document to the housekeeper. It is a very practical document, with a note that care should be taken while opening the drawers of one of the cabinets as the contents were apt to jump out. (Appendix 5)

Mrs Purcell, Mistress Seamstress and Starcher to the Body Linen, seems to have enjoyed a friendly intimacy with Queen Caroline and her daughters. Lord Hervey included her amongst the characters in his short theatrical sketch 'The Death of Lord Hervey or a Morning at Court' written for the amusement of the Royal Family in 1736. She joined in the banter and teasing between the Queen and the Princesses Amelia and Caroline, as they undertake their toilette. Mrs Purcell was responsible for dressing the Queen's hair,

³⁶⁵ TNA. Works 4/1 1 Feb 1720: TNA. Works 6/7 p.152: TNA. T54/25 p.407: TNA. AO1/2450/154

³⁶⁶ TNA. LC9/286 f.131

and was gently taken to task by her for creating a style Caroline termed 'à la Moïse'.³⁶⁸ Following the death of the Queen, Mrs Purcell retained her position of trust within the innermost circle of royal attendants. When Princess Mary married Frederick William of Hesse-Cassel in 1740, Lady Pomfret records that it was left to Mrs Purcell to supervise the trousseau.³⁶⁹

Margaret Purcell was born Margaret Wyvill, daughter of Sir Marmaduke Wyvill, 5th Baronet, by his wife Henrietta Maria, nee Yarborough. As Margaret Wyvill she was appointed Launderess and Seamstress to George Augustus, Prince of Wales from Michaelmas 1715. She was paid £150 a year with an additional £50 for her expenses.³⁷⁰ Shortly before 1718 she married John Purcell, probably a Page of the Backstairs, and Chamberlayne's *Magnae Britanniae Notitia* and Guy Miede's *Present State of Great Britain and Ireland* note that she continued in post until 1724. Sometime before 1727 she was given additional duties as Seamstress to Caroline, Princess of Wales, in succession to Elizabeth Hawley. Establishment Book 18 gives her salary as £150 for this service.

The accession of King George II and Queen Caroline saw Margaret Purcell's income reaching £400 a year.³⁷¹ She continued to provide service to Queen Caroline until the latter's death in 1737, and to George II until her own death on November 29th 1755.³⁷²

One may assume that Mrs Purcell's inventory of the *wunderkammer* was made at some

³⁶⁷ TNA. LC9/286 f.107

³⁶⁸ Churchill, Sarah. *Letters of a Grandmother*. op cit. p.147

³⁶⁹ Seymour, Frances, Duchess of Somerset. *Correspondence between Frances, Countess of Hertford and Henrietta Louisa, Countess of Pomfret between the years 1738-1741* Edited by W Bingley. 2nd edition. 2 vol. London. Richard Philips. 1806. vol. II. pp. 225-226

³⁷⁰ TNA. SP. 35-69 (8-9)

³⁷¹ RA Geo. Add. Ms. 1/49

date between 1737 when the Queen died and 1755.

The next reference I have found to the collection of curiosities is to be that made by Horace Walpole on 2 June 1763. In his copy of W.A Bathoe's *A Catalogue of the Collection of the Pictures etc belonging to King James the Second. (copied from a ms. In the Library of the Earl of Oxford) to which is appended A Catalogue of the Pictures, Drawings, Limnings, Enamels. Models in wax and the Ivory Carvings etc at Kensington in Queen Caroline's Closet, next the State Bedchamber* published in 1758 he added handwritten descriptions of many of the items included in BM Add Ms 20101. He notes that these were located in the 'little library' and he states that this had been 'fitted up (I believe) by Queen Caroline'. A few pieces spill over to an adjacent chamber. Horace Walpole's volume of Bathoe is now owned by the Royal Collection. (Appendix 6)

On March 9th 1764 Horace Walpole attended at Kensington Palace once again, this time to list formally items in located in 'his Majestys Cabinet'. The record of what he found was made on 22nd March, was delivered to Lord Gower with a consignment of artifacts, the list now surviving in the Royal Archives.³⁷² (Appendix 7) It is immediately evident that the collection described is that covered by the two earlier inventories. There is a further list which describes the same collection with some variations entitled 'In his Majesty's Cabinet at Kensington. Opened March 9th 1764' which Owen Morshead, a former royal librarian purchased from Francis Harper, a dealer, in 1942. This is also preserved in the Royal Archives. (Appendix 8)

³⁷² Miede, G. *The Present State of Great Britain and Ireland* 1748 : *Gentleman's Magazine* Nov. 1755

³⁷³ RA Geo. Add. Ms. 16

The Surveyors inventories of c1732 and 1750 fail to mention the contents of the rooms. They note simply that a half length portrait of 'the Great Mr Boyle' hung over the chimneypiece in the library and that a painting of a pot of flowers by Vanzoon hung over the chimney of the room next door.

Further information about the Queen's collection of curiosities has to be gleaned from her correspondence, the correspondence between her friends and courtiers and from contemporary newspaper reports. The manuscript notes in the British Library recording movements of the Queen's books between the palaces contain incidental reference to various additions to the collection of curiosities.³⁷⁴ The catalogue of the Queen's library itself contains reference to considerable quantities of literature relating to the artifact types included in the Queen's collection and serve as evidence of the enormous range of the Queen's interests.³⁷⁵

The most comprehensive description of the Queen's collection of curiosities is contained within BM Add Ms 20101. It notes that the collection comprised nearly two hundred gems, a hundred and twenty six pieces of jewellery and over a thousand medals. There were twenty-three cups, five salts and four bottles or ewers made variously from shell, ivory, precious stones or metals. There were four pieces of coral set in jewelled mounts. Ten entries describe ethnographic material. Most of this is weaponry. Thirty items might be described as 'naturalia' and include bezoars, a load stone, an ivory tusk and two

³⁷⁴ BL C120.h.6

³⁷⁵ BL Add Ms. 11511

‘unicorn horns’. A sun dial and a ‘burning glass’ stand as the only scientific instruments. Within a category one could class as ‘curiosities’ there were amongst other objects a sceptre, a ‘chrystal coffin with a locket of hair and a diamond’ and ‘Sir Edward Serondes gold in a box’.

Queen Caroline’s rarities were stored and displayed in a series of cabinets, which were described variously as ‘the glass cabinet’, the wooden cabinet’ and the ‘other cabinet’ in Mrs Purcell’s inventory. Walpole’s annotations to his copy of Bathoe made in 1753 note there were four cabinets. The other inventories made in 1764 only refer to three cabinets, one of which was given over to the storage of the small collection of Middle Eastern weaponry. It is not clear from the inventories how the various pieces of furniture were arranged within the rooms.

Within the Royal Collection there is a large mahogany collectors’ cabinet of an appropriate period.³⁷⁶ (Figures 101-104) The cabinet has three bays with a pediment arranged over the central bay. The upper part of the cabinet has a pair of arch headed doors in the central section, surmounted with a carved mask. The doors open to reveal of cupboard now having two shelves. The two side bays have square topped doors which open to reveal cupboards each having two shelves. The two cupboards in the side bays are surmounted with carved medallions each containing the carved profile of a man. The man depicted in the medallion over the right cupboard has long curling hair and a beard. He wears a swathed turban style hat, and a shirt with a deep plain fall collar, over a doublet fastening down the centre front with small round domed topped buttons. The man

has been identified as Inigo Jones. Over the left hand cupboard the medallion contains a portrait of a man with short curly hair. He wears a small round cap. The low stand collar of his doublet is topped with lace. It buttons down the centre front. This man has been identified as Palladio. These reliefs derive from the same original as used by Rysbrack in his busts of Palladio and Inigo Jones produced for Lord Burlington sometime in the 1730 or 1740's. These busts are now part of the collection at Chatsworth House. (Figures 105-106) The three bays are punctuated with carved garlands of husks arranged vertically. There are two cupboards let into the frieze behind each medallion, to which access is gained from the sides of the cabinet.

The lower part of the cabinet is divided to provide three additional cupboards. In the centre cupboard there are thirty shallow drawers, arranged in three banks of ten drawers. Both of the side cupboards have sixteen small long deep drawers, arranged in four banks of four drawers. All of the drawers have small metal button knobs. The cabinet sits on a high skirting.

I can find no references in the Lord Chamberlain's Papers which can easily be tied to this cabinet. In 1737 there is a note that a large wainscot press made in two parts for books was commissioned. It had shelves and brass handles but no further information is included. There are references to furniture being purchased by the Queen in the short run of her Privy Purse Accounts held within the Royal Archives. The cabinet maker James Riorto was paid £400 19s 6d in 1731 and £52.3s in 1733. There is also record of a

³⁷⁶ RCIN 71457

payment of £73 in 1733 to George Nix for furniture.³⁷⁷ The nature of the furniture is not noted.

James Riorto was recorded living in the parish of St Giles in the Fields in 1718. He received royal commissions from the 1730's, principally from Frederick, Prince of Wales.³⁷⁸ George Nix was another cabinet maker working within Lord Burlington's and William Kent's circle. In 1728 he had made up a set of mahogany benches to a design of Flitcroft for the 2nd Duke of Montagu at Montagu House, Whitehall. These survive today in the collection at Boughton. A set of chairs made for Ham House between 1729 and 1734 can still be seen there.

In its design the cabinet which survives is most reminiscent of the work of William Kent. It may be compared with the library furniture he designed for Sir Robert Walpole at Houghton and Lord Leicester at Holkham on Norfolk. As has been noted Kent enjoyed the favour of Queen Caroline. He had provided advice on the layout of her gardens, provided designs for her garden pavilions at Kew, served as artist and conservator and in 1737 it was Kent who was chosen to design the Queen's new library at St James's Palace.

The cabinet makers who worked with Kent to realize the designs for the library were Benjamin Goodison and John Boson. Both had undertaken projects for the Queen on earlier occasions.

³⁷⁷ RA.Add.MS. 53993-54005 May 1730-Mar 1731 : RA.Add.Ms. 54015-54023 Sept 1731-Sept 1733

³⁷⁸ Duchy of Cornwall Record Office. Vouchers vol II pp.205, 224

Benjamin Goodison (c1700-1767) first comes to notice as a cabinet maker in September 1719, when he signs a receipt of money owed by the Duchess of Marlborough to his 'Master', James Moore.³⁷⁹ As apprentice to Moore, Goodison would have received a very valuable training. Moore and his partner Thomas Gumley, had been suppliers of furniture to the Royal Family since the late seventeenth century. By 1725, it appears that Goodison had set up on his own account. He quickly established a very healthy client-list which included the 1st Earl of Leicester, the Duchess of Marlborough, the Duke of Bedford, Lord Spencer and the 3rd Earl of Burlington. He received his first royal commission for a lantern for the Queen's Grand Stair at Hampton Court Palace in 1729.³⁸⁰ Thereon there were numerous orders year after year. In September 1734 alone, Goodison would 'fit up a closet with mahogany presses and drawers and other conveniences for books' at St James's Palace and also supply 'a mahogany press for books with a large glass in the door, two mahogany tables on claw feet, fine mahogany desk for music books, a walnuttree writing desk and bookcase bound in brass, and large mahogany press wth doors above and drawers below, two large glasses for a bookcase'.³⁸¹

Goodison would certainly have encountered the collection of curiosities having been asked in 1735 to help with small conservation projects including supplying 'new glasses for an amber cabinet and fixing ditto to her Majesty's use at Kensington', providing 'a glass for the model of the mines, and fixing it for the Duke', and 'a new glass for a model

³⁷⁹ BL Add Ms. 61354. f.76

³⁸⁰ TNA. LC9/26

³⁸¹ TNA.LC5/73 f.123r : TNA. LC9/164 f.27v

case and fixing the same for the Duke' ³⁸²

John Boson (c1705-1745) appears to have started his career as an apprentice to a ships' carver based in the naval dockyard at Deptford. By the 1720's he had established his own yard near Greenwich. It was not until 1725 that the first domestic projects were undertaken when he was included in the group of craftsmen tasked to undertake work for fifty new churches. Boson is credited with work on the screen and organ gallery at Westminster Abbey, and the reredos at Canterbury Cathedral. He would later work for Lord Leicester at Holkham. Within the royal family Boson is recorded making frames for the Queen in 1731-1733 and at about the same time his first commissions came from Frederick, Prince of Wales.³⁸³ It is just possible that the collectors' cabinet is the work of Goodison or Boson. Stylistically one would date the cabinet to the 1730's.

The commemoration of Andrea Palladio and Inigo Jones in the carved reliefs on the upper part of the cabinet would suggest that the cabinet had been commissioned by Caroline. These architects were celebrated as heroes within her artistic circle. Colen Campbell, who Caroline would have encountered after he was commissioned by George I to create the three new 'Great' rooms at Kensington Palace, had championed their works in his *Vitruvius Britannicus* published in 1715. Lord Burlington lately Privy Councillor and husband of Dorothy Lady Burlington, one of Caroline's Ladies of the Bedchamber had himself commissioned full length sculptures of both Palladio and Jones from Rysbrack to stand outside the Bagnio in the garden of his house in Chiswick back in

³⁸² TNA. LC9/166 ff.19-20

³⁸³ RA.Add.Ms. 54015-54023

1717.

It is evident from the catalogue of the Queen's library that these were architects venerated by Caroline too. She owned not only Colen Campbell's work, but also two sets of William Kent's volumes on Inigo Jones.³⁸⁴ Frederick, Prince of Wales is the only other likely commissioner, but I believe that the date of the cabinet would tend to preclude his involvement.

The collecting of curiosities can be documented back to the fifteenth century. The collections of Jean Duke of Berry (1340-1415), the brother of Charles V of France, embraced ethnography and 'curiosities' such as 'unicorn's horns', 'tongues of serpents' and bezoars as well as painting, sculpture and antiquities. These early collections not only stood as evidence of the wealth and taste of their compilers, but served as a physical, powerful and theatrical manifestation of the contemporary literary debate exploring the nature of the world, and its creation.

The re-appraisal of the works of Pliny and Aristotle in the sixteenth century led Aldovandi, Gesner and Kircher, to explore how the world might be represented by the encyclopedic collection and arrangement of objects. In Bologna Aldovandi's collection of zoology, mineralogy and botany extended to embrace ethnography and rivaled that of Gesner based in Zurich. Kircher, a Jesuit made good use of his contacts internationally to draw together an extensive collection relating to science and the natural world in the

³⁸⁴ BM. Add.Ms. 11511 includes reference to Campbell, Colen. *Vitruvius Britannicus* London. 1717. Kent, William. *The Designs of Inigo Jones. With some additional designs* London 1720

Museo Kircheriano at the College of Rome.

These collections served as the physical counterpart to the early museological theories of Samuel Quiccheberg and Johann Daniel Major. Quiccheberg's museum tract *Inscriptiones vel Tituli* was based on Pliny's philosophy and describes how a collection should represent the whole universe. In order to achieve this he suggested that four classes of artifacts should be sought. The first class involved sacred objects, painting and other works of art. The second class comprised works of art produced by man, but made of natural materials. The third group was to be of organic material in its unaltered state, and the last category should be artistic works which could stand as a genealogical

These collections served as the physical counterpart to the early museological theories of

Quiccheberg's publication becomes significant in this study as it formed the basis of Major's *Kunst-und Naturalien Kammern*. This was the text used as the organizing rationale for the *Kunstkammer* of the Electors of Saxony in Dresden which contained the first collection of 'curiosities' Caroline is likely to have encountered. A collection was founded in Dresden by Augustus of Saxony (r1553-1586) in about 1560. It was housed in a series of attic rooms on the fourth floor of the west wing of the Dresdener Residenz Schloss. When an inventory was made by David Uslaub in 1587, for his successor Christian I, the list of contents ran to about ten thousand entries.³⁸⁵

From the earliest days it seems the Electors prized technical virtuosity over abstract

³⁸⁵ Menzhausen, J. 'Elector Augustus's Kunstkammer. An Analysis of the Inventory of 1587' in Impey, O. and MacGregor, A. ed. *The Origins of Museums* Oxford. House of Stratus. 1980. pp.69-75

aestheticism. The list contains many carved cherry pits, and ivory turnings, together with the magnifying glasses, lathes and other equipment used in producing them. This equipment was often given complicated costly mounts to boost its status as an exhibit. These technical curiosities represented 75% of the holdings. The second largest category, representing 19%, was of surgical instruments, which were displayed alongside letters from sufferers who had been eased by their aid. There was a cabinet made in the form of a stag, which opened to reveal an apothecaries chest, containing medicaments derived from the stag with instructions for their use. Books represented 3% and paintings and sculpture 2%. There were a few examples of naturalia including rhinoceros and 'unicorn' horns. These only amount to 1% of the total collection.

Elsewhere in the Residenz there were a number of specialist collections, including an armoury, a treasury, a cabinet for coins and medals and a library. The existence of a novel *Anatomie-kammer* which contained human and animal fossils and skeletons may explain why the collection of naturalia in the *Kunstammer* was so limited.

While the Dresden collection as a whole broadly covers the subject areas recommended by Pliny and Quiccheberg, it developed in a number of idiosyncratic ways reflecting the interests and priorities of the rulers. It became a lively resource used by the scholars, scientists and craftsmen at the forefront of Saxony's industrial expansion.

Later under Augustus the Strong (r1697-1733) the *Kunstammer* was re-organised into a series of smaller more specialist collections. A significant group of gems, jewels, and

metalwork, including exotic automata was moved to the mirror lined rooms termed the *Grunes Gewolbe* or *Green Vault* in the basement of the Palace.

The next *wunderkammer* Caroline encountered was that of the Electors of Brandenburg in Berlin. The earliest collections of the Electors of Brandenburg, amassed during the sixteenth century, had been lost during the Thirty Years War, together with the inventories which had been made of them in about 1600. Elector Friedrich Wilhelm (r1640-1688) worked hard to restore this loss in the middle years of the seventeenth century, encouraged by Johan Maurits of Nassau, who had been appointed Governor of Brandenburg in 1647. Several collections were purchased such as those of Erasmus Seidal and Gerrit Reynst of Amsterdam in 1642, and in 1680 that of Ekmann Ewich of Xanten. In 1685 the collection of Elector Karl Ludwig of Heidelberg (1623-1680) was bequeathed. Lorenz Berger, librarian and antiquary to Karl Ludwig was charged with its packing up and transport, and on his arrival in Berlin was appointed curator and librarian to its new owner. The *Naturalienkammer* of the late Christian Lorentzenen Aldershelm of Leipzig was presented to the Elector of Brandenburg in 1687 and many other gifts would arrive in Berlin, including a silver automata of Diana presented by the Province of Milan.

In 1688 Christoph Ungeller had produced an inventory of the Elector's holdings.³⁸⁶ The categories represented were naturalia, statues, objects of virtue and rarities, architectural plans, paintings, oriental weapons, medals and mechanical models.

³⁸⁶ Theuerkauff, C. 'The Brandenburg Kunstkammer in Berlin' in Impey, O and MacGregor, A. ed. *The Origins of Museums* op cit. pp.110-114

Under Frederick III the collection of antiquities which had been compiled by Bellin in Rome in 1698 was used to boost the collection of archaeology. This was later augmented still further with engraved gems, bronzes and glass retrieved in local excavations. There was a large collection of ethnographic material reflecting Frederick's particular interest. As Crown Prince he had spent time in Leiden and was familiar with the *Kabinet van Anatomie en Rariteiten* which had existed there within the medical faculty of the university since 1593. As well as its notable display of skeletons posed in tableaux, ethnography was very well represented. Frederick III became particularly interested in African and Asian artifacts. In 1688 Admiral Raule had presented him with a significant collection of African artifacts. Frederick later engaged the services of a Dutch army officer called Polemann, stationed in Batavia to procure Asian weapons, lacquer-work, ivory and porcelain on his behalf.

When Berger died in 1705 the charge of the collection passed to his son in law Johann Carl Scholt. At this time the antiquities was segregated from the *Kunst-und Naturalienkammer* which continued to be overseen by Johann Casimir Philippi, who had been its assistant keeper since 1693. By royal decree in 1703 the *Kunst-und Naturalienkammer* was moved to 'a new building and the rooms appointed to it'. This was in the new Berliner Schloss, which had been in construction since 1698 under the direction of Andreas Schlüter. The re-organisation of the collections would have taken place during Caroline's residence in Berlin.

Following Caroline's arrival at Herrenhusen in Hanover, on her marriage to George

Augustus she would have encountered the Electress Sophia's collection of rarities, significant in that it gave Caroline her first female role model as collector of this kind of artefact. An inventory of the *Kunst und Wunder Kammer* of the Electress made in 1709 covers her property in both the residence in Hanover and at Herrenhausen. It is written in French, and includes sections for 'D'Argenterie' and 'Des Vases et Coupes d'Agat et Cristal'. The entries in the 'D'Argenterie' section include decorative pieces such as '13 petites vases d'argent vermeille doree', and '2 petits coupes d'agat vermeille doree', as well as extending to silver furniture and table wares. The complementary category listing items made out of agate or crystal includes entries such as '8 petites coupes d'agat avec leurs pieds garnie d'agent doree', and '4 vases forme de gondole de cristal de roche avec leurs pieds garnie d'or'.³⁸⁷

Queen Caroline's collection of curiosities, though small, can still be shown to represent the world in microcosm. It contained artifacts or material derived from each realm of nature; animal, vegetable and mineral. 'Unicorn horns', bezoars and other animal stones represented the first category. Coral stood in the second class, and gems and samples of ore, the third. Following Quiccheberg's recommendations for the ideal collection there were many pieces of fine metalwork such as a 'crystal cup and cover, a humming bird in it' and 'a crystal shell and tryton set with jewells' to demonstrate the heights of artistic endeavour. Agate, onyx and coral were all worked into elaborate artifacts such as 'a moco salt cellar' which was given an emerald rim, a 'shell with Hereglyflicks set in gold', a 'Green cup wrote wth figures & in it two branches of Correll' and lathe turned ivories stand to show the ingenuity of man mastering and manipulating natural materials.

³⁸⁷ Inventory of the Electress Sophia of Hanover, 1709. *Hanover Archives. Dep. 103. XXIV Nr 2487*

There were natural curiosities in their unaltered state, and a collection of medals, which could easily be collected and displayed in a way to celebrate dynasties and hierarchies. Taken together all the classes of artifact prescribed by Quiccheberg were represented.

The inventory of the Queen's library reveals she owned classic museological texts such as Pliny's *De Naturalis* and works by Francis Bacon.³⁸⁸ It was in 1716 that Lady Cowper records in her diary that Caroline has asked her to collect together and bring her all Bacon's writings.³⁸⁹ There is an intriguing note in the library catalogue of a book concerning temples of muses written by Michel de Merodes.³⁹⁰ There were catalogues of the collections of medals held by the King of France, and volumes containing the architectural plans for Herrenhausen, Versailles, and other princely residences.³⁹¹ She was able to consult Castiglione, Machiavelli and Albergati on princely manners and owned many other contemporary etiquette manuals.³⁹²

It is important to establish whether the collection of curiosities was created exclusively

³⁸⁸ Francis Bacon had written some time before 1617 a work entitled *Salomon's House* which was published in 1627. It was 'instructed for the interpretation of Nature and the producing of Great and Marvellous rules for the benefit of Man'. BM. Add.Ms. 11511 includes the following titles: *The Essays & Councils Civil and Moral of Sr Francis Bacon, Lord Veralam, Bt.* London. 1701: *Baconiana, or certain genuine remains of Sr Francis Bacon Baron of Verrulam*.....London 1684

³⁸⁹ Cowper, Mary Countess. *Diary* op cit. p.13. 'went out to carry the Princess all my Lord Bacon's works, which she had bade me get her'.

³⁹⁰ BM. Add.Ms. 11511 contains the following titles: Marolles, Michel de. *Tableaux du Temple des Muses. Tirez du cabinet du Feu Mr Favereau et gravez en Tailles douces par Représenter les Vertus et les Vices*.....Paris 1655

³⁹¹ BM. Add. Ms. 11511 includes the following titles: *Medailles du Cabinet du Roy: Suite de Medaillon du Cabinet du Roy gravée en 1682* : Böhm, H. *Plans of Herrenhausen : Tableaux du Cabinet de Roy. Statues et Bustes antique des Maisons Royales* Paris. 1677 : *Descriptions de la Grotte de Versailles*. Paris. 1676 : *Labyrinthe de Versailles* Paris. 1679

³⁹² BM.Add.Ms.11511 includes the following titles: Castiglione, B. *Il Cortegiano or the Courtier* : Bûquens, L'Abbé de. *Traité de la Politesse* : Bellegarde, M, Abbé de. *Reflexions sure la Politesse des Moeurs*...Amsterdam 1699 : Montaigne, Michel. *Essays of Michael Seigneur de Montaigne*.....London. 1711 : *Le Prince de Machiavel. Traduction augmentée de plusieurs autres Traités de meme auteur*. Amsterdam 1696

by the Queen. Horace Walpole notes specifically that he believed Queen Caroline was responsible for the arrangements within the two rooms at Kensington. As we will discover it was Caroline who is recipient of gifts of rarities and who seems to have purchased items on occasion. It was the Queen who initiates a correspondence with contemporary scientists and other collectors such as Sir Hans Sloane and who gathered her young family round her and took them off to view collections elsewhere. George II, as has been noted, was very dismissive of the Queen's interest and involvement in artistic circles. According to Lord Hervey he failed to understand or share the Queen's delight in visiting courtier collections. There is another collectors' cabinet surviving in the collection at Herrenhausen which was produced in London or possibly Hanover which was made for the King to house a collection of coins. It seems to date from about 1750 with a broken pedimented cresting typical of fashionable English products from the workshop of John Channon. However I believe this probably stands as the King's single isolated venture into this world, and the construction of the cabinet served a purely practical purpose to house an existing collection.

What is immediately evident following a close reading of the lists of curiosities is that the Queen drew together items surviving from the collections of earlier English monarchs. There had been a tradition within the British royal family of collecting rarities since the sixteenth century. These collections were relatively small and the contents had generally been drawn together unsystematically led by the interests and circumstances of each individual monarch.

The Privy Purse accounts of Henry VIII, as early as 1530 detail the purchase of jewels, clocks and other decorative metalwork. John Legar, a jeweller was paid on one occasion £1.12s.4d, for two clocks, four glasses, fifteen swords and three ‘Turkesses’. On the same day ‘John Baptist, the Italian Jeweller’ was paid £22. 10s. for ‘certeyn jewellex by him solde to the kings grace’.³⁹³ On the occasion of his marriage to Jane Seymour in 1536, the King ordered ‘oone faire standing cup of golde garnisshed about the couver wht eleven table diamandes and two pointed diamaundes about the cup.....H and J knitte together in the top of the couver, the Queens Armes and Queen Janes Armes holdene by two boyes under the Crowne’ to a design by Hans Holbein.³⁹⁴ Each year the collection was augmented with the New Year gifts traditionally presented to the monarch by senior courtiers. Sir Anthony Denny presented a salt-cellar combined with a timepiece again made to a design by Holbein in 1545.³⁹⁵ These items formed the basis of an impressive treasury known as the Jewel House.

The first simple listing of items in the Jewel House was undertaken in 1521. In 1538 when the first proper catalogue was made the collections had increased by 90% and numbered just under a thousand entries. It is possible to identify a small number of pieces which had survived from an earlier generation. A ‘Cup of golde with Margarettes garnisshed about the bowle of the pece and couver wth thre light blewe saphers Nyne Ballaces’ may have belonged to Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Derby, mother of

³⁹³ Nicholas, H.N.ed. *The Privy Purse Expenses of King Henry the Eighth* London. William Pickering. 1824. p.51

³⁹⁴ Jefferies Collins, J ed. *Jewels and Plate of Queen Elizabeth I. The Inventory of 1574* London. The British Museum. 1955. p.279

³⁹⁵ Dodgson, Campbell. ‘Holbein’s Design for Sir Anthony Denny’s Clock’ *The Burlington Magazine* LVIII. pp.226-231

Henry VII.³⁹⁶ Other records detail that her plate was decorated with this floral motif in honour of her name.³⁹⁷ Dating back to the reign of Richard III was 'oone salte of golde with a couver borne up with a morion, having about the necke fyve corne rubies and garnisshing pearles'.

The second half of the sixteenth century saw many new commissions and gifts. It was under Queen Elizabeth I that 'oone very fine lair of mother of pearle being a shell crased in sundrey places and simented againe garnisshed with golde the foote theof at VIII square in Lower parte whereof is oone Diamound wth oule a foile foure Rockey Ruby and two verie faire emerauldes....the handle being an antique man of golde garnisshed with six rubies one emerauld & oone sapher' was acquired as well as many 'cups of cristall', 'goblettes and jugges of christallen' and 'Saultes of gold'. Items such as the 'cup of golde called the Dreame of Paris', first mentioned in 1521 was evidently still prized and was still present in the 1597 listing.

The 1521 listing and the 1532 catalogue also show that alongside the gems and jewels rarities and curiosities were also collected. The 'oone pece of unicornes horne not garnisshed', first recorded in 1521, was noted in the catalogue of 1532 and later listings made in 1550, 1559 and 1597. In 1598 Paul Hentzer visiting Windsor Castle noticed it there and reckoning it was worth 'above 10,000l'. Elizabeth I introduced examples of contemporary technology and scientific instruments such as 'a clocke set in cornelian garnisshed wth golde xiii smale diamaunder two rubies and pearles in the toppe of the

³⁹⁶ Jefferies Collins, J. ed. op.cit. pp.281-282

³⁹⁷ Queen Elizabeth I would eventually present this piece to James I and VI, on the occasion of the

couver being a boye, with an arrow his oone hande a antique shilde wth a diamaunde in it thother hande’.

King James I on his accession in 1603 inherited an impressive collection of virtuoso metalwork and curiosities within the Jewel House. However it had been customary that this collection was used as a source of diplomatic gifts. After Christian IV of Denmark received a substantial number of pieces in both 1606 and 1614 efforts were made to curb this practice. It was evident that the collection had become a source of pride and was beginning to be considered an unalienable asset of the throne.

Henry, Prince of Wales, the eldest son of James I was the next major contributor to the royal collection of art and his interest extended to the collecting of curiosities and rarities in line with his princely counterparts in Europe. With the encouragement of his friend Sir Henry Fanshawe, Remembrancer of the Exchequer, who himself owned a substantial collection of paintings, prints, drawings, medals, coins and intaglios in his house in Warwick Lane, London, the Prince bought the cabinet compiled by Gollaeus for £2200. This large array of coins, medals and gems may be identified in the inventory made later by Richard Cannock of the Prince’s possessions. The inventory also included reference to a substantial collection of pictures and ‘sylvan vessels’.³⁹⁸

When Prince Henry died in 1612 his collection was largely subsumed into the collection made by his brother Charles who in 1619 succeeded his father as King Charles I. There is

christening of his son Henry in 1594

³⁹⁸ Inner Temple Ms. 538/17 f.425 discussed in Strong, Roy *Henry, Prince of Wales and England’s Lost*

evidence that there had been significant pilfering especially from the Prince's collection of medals. The catalogue made by Abraham van der Doort the curator of Charles I's collection, reveals a new more systematic approach was made to both collecting and display. There are references to the items Charles had inherited from his brother, including to 'one of the three large brase horses which was sent by the Duke of Fflorencce to Prince Henry of famous memory'.³⁹⁹ There were also many new additions some of which were presented as gifts. Endymion Porter presented the King with 'a little statua where David overcomes Goliath being a little intire figure', 'cast in brass and blackt over wth vernish'. The *State Papers, Colonial* for 1629 note that the King of Bantam sent to his Majesty 'one crest or dagger with a gold handle, one fair lance part plated with gold'. Van der Doort himself presented 'An East Indian idol whereby two little ones.' Those aware of the King's interest in virtuoso artworks such as Mr Goodman sent 'carved in peartree a little eve houlding in one of her hands an apple and the other hand her fingers broken off'.

There were many purchases too. In 1630, the minutes of the British East India Company go as far as stating that they 'have been of the same mind with their worships to send no goods to court, but experience tells them they must not being any rarities except that they let the King have the first choice'.⁴⁰⁰

Even though James I had made earnest efforts to replace the royal plate which had been dispersed early in his reign as diplomatic gifts, by 1625 Charles I had disposed of most of

Renaissance London. Thames and Hudson. 1984. pp.196-197

³⁹⁹ Walpole Society. *Abraham van der Doort's Catalogue* op cit. p.71

these replacements. The goldsmiths work he commissioned subsequently was generally from the southern Netherlands and included items made by Adam van Vianen (c.1569-1627), his brother Paul (b.1570) and son Christian (b.1598) From Paul van Vianen. Charles acquired silver and bronze reliefs which were mounted around the walls of his cabinet in Whitehall. From Christian the King commissioned a large silver chased basin which survives in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum. Rubens included an image of the ewer and basin he designed for the King in a grisaille painting now in the National Gallery, London. The pieces were executed in silver by Theodore Rogiers of Antwerp.⁴⁰¹ Both Adam van der Doort's catalogue of the King's collections and the inventories made of the King's goods after his death contain descriptions of a significant group of crystal, agate and gold, silver gilt and silver cups, salts and other novelties, often jewelled or enameled.

Charles I's collection contained a large group of naturalia which is listed in van der Doort's catalogue. There is 'the lumpish peecs of gould wch they call Bossuns being in the middest broken wth a hammer in 2 peecs wch they say was found in Ireland underground in the Province of Conaugh, wch they say was given as a present to yor Maty from my Lord Deputy of Ireland'. There were samples of 'wilde corall', and coral worked into exotic ornaments such as an 'artificial rocke with a crucifix of corall'. There was a cup formed from an 'estridge'egg, with a cover 'garnisshed with silver gilt, supported by 3 estridges and a serpent', and three 'unicorns' horns.

⁴⁰⁰ *Calender of State Papers. Colonial Series. East Indies and Persia. 1630-1634* p.21

⁴⁰¹ Discussed in Lightbown, Ronald. 'Charles I and the Art of the Goldsmith' in *The Late King's Goods. Collections, Possessions and Patronage of Charles I in the Light of the Commonwealth Sale Inventories* Edited by Arthur MacGregor. London and Oxford Alistair McAlpine in association with Oxford University

Ethnography was represented by items such as 'a mans head in brasse blackt over wth black vernish being soe big as life upon a black Tutchstone square Peddestall said to be an Antiquity of Peru, Brought from Germany by Sir Henry Vane and given to yor Maty'. There was 'an eight square Eygyptian stone table wth divers figures in reivo', and a 'conjuring Drum from Lapland'.⁴⁰²

The small category of curiosities included six comb cases, and a hawking glove which had once belonged to Henry VIII. There were scientific instruments such as a sea compass and an automaton which had been presented by Sir Henry Wotton described as 'a musical instrument, being a devise in a wooden frame wth a man in it, the frame inlaid wth ivory, in a case of crimson velvet'.

It is evident that the King took particular delight in his collection of bronzes and of coins and medals. The medals were stored in drawers lined with either white felt, or fine leather and were placed in the 'Cabinet Room' in Whitehall Palace. Others were mounted and displayed in 'black hoopes'. The collection was supported by several publications within the King's library. Van der Doort lists 'Antiquity of Meddals edged in blew bought by yor Matie whn you were a Prince', '2 books in folio in bronze leather wth yor Maties Armes upon it when you were a Prince edged in greene and greene strings concerning the Antiquity of Meddalls' and 'one like booke being but quarto and also in bronze leather edged wth greene conteyning alsoe Antiquities of Meddalls'.

Press. 1989. pp233-255

⁴⁰² Walpole Society. *Inventory of Charles I's Goods at Somerset House* Edited by Oliver Millar. Walpole

In its embracing of naturalia, artifacts to represent the heights of artistic endeavour and man's mastery of the natural world together with a collection of medals which could serve as a genealogical table and a library Charles I's collection was the first in England to follow faithfully the subject areas prescribed by Quiccheberg.

By about 1625, Charles I's increasingly difficult financial position saw him beginning to consider his collection as a potential source of revenue. The mother of pearl lair, so carefully repaired, which had been part of the collection since about 1550, was sent with the Duke of Buckingham to The Hague and was pawned in October 1629 to raise funds.⁴⁰³ It was eventually redeemed and sold on to William Scarborough for £2390.

Many more pieces were melted down or dispersed during the series of sales of the late King's goods which took place between 1649 and 1651. The sales gave many collectors the opportunity of acquiring very high calibre items. On 27 December, 1649, Mr Guinen purchased the 'unicorne horne beaker & gold cover with a diamond Ring on the topp surported by 3 unicorns' for £51. Richard III's salt, which had survived the vicissitudes of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries described in 1647 simply as 'an old salt and cover supported by a blackamore' finally disappears to a purchaser unknown. Henry VIII's comb cases fetched 7 shillings, his hawking glove 2 shillings.

The trustees of the King's estate were careful to stipulate that certain material was

Society vol.34.1970-1972. p.121

⁴⁰³ TNA. SP.Dom. 1615-1616. p.143

retained, in order to furnish the palaces of Whitehall, Windsor, St James's, Somerset House and Theobalds, which were used for the accommodation of the senior officials and for business by the new regime. In addition on 30 July 1647, the House of Commons resolved that the King's books, models, medals, globes, mathematical instruments and sculpture should be preserved.⁴⁰⁴ The Library Keeper, Patrick Young was detailed to make an inventory before all these items were moved to Whitehall.⁴⁰⁵ These collections become important to this study, as they were to provide a reserve on which Queen Caroline could draw.

John Evelyn who in February 1655 managed to view some of the items retained from Charles I's cabinet including his 'table, the whole balance was only a crystal ball, sliding on parallel wires' in rooms occupied by Oliver Cromwell. He returned to Whitehall in November 1660 following the Restoration to review the arrangements made by King Charles II.⁴⁰⁶ He noticed that there were still three cabinets of 'pietra commessa' and a 'landscape of needlework which had been presented by the Dutch to King Charles the First'. Amongst the collection of scientific instruments there were clocks including one which showed the rising and setting of the sun in the zodiac. 'the sun represented by a face and rays of gold, upon an azure sky, observing the diurnal and annual motion rising and setting behind a landscape of hills' together with a curious ship model. When Evelyn returned four weeks later bringing his brother and sister-in-law they took great delight in inspecting 'divers jewels and crystal vases and exquisite pieces of carving, two unicorns

⁴⁰⁴ Walpole Society. *Inventories of Charles I's Collection* op.cit. p.XVIII

⁴⁰⁵ Henfrey, H.W. 'King Charles the First's Collection of Coins' *Numismatic Chronicle*. New Series.14.1874. p.100. (note 88)

⁴⁰⁶ Evelyn, John. *Diary* Edited Dobson. op. cit. vol. II. pp.100, pp.153-154

horns etc'. He noted that there were still 'a vast number of agates, onyxes and intaglios especially of Caesar as broad as my hand'.⁴⁰⁷

Charles II and James II made some efforts to rebuild the collection of curiosities.

Following the Restoration some items were returned by the individuals and syndicates which had made purchases at the sales of Charles I's effects. This included the 'unicorn' horn beaker having a mount in the form of three unicorns which had been described in van der Doort's inventory. In 1661, James II sent abroad a Mr Hubbard, Page of the Presence on a quest abroad to find 'curiosities of nature'.⁴⁰⁸ Both monarchs were also the beneficiaries of gifts which included in 1684 '14 tubs of china-ware' sent as a diplomatic gift from the King of Siam. John Evelyn, writing to Samuel Pepys in 1689, was still under the apprehension that many parts of the collection had been irretrievably lost.⁴⁰⁹

In the last decade of the seventeenth century William III and Mary II were responsible for many additions to the royal collections. Both had their own interests and pursued them energetically. William's particular interest in scientific instruments seems to have started early in his life perhaps encouraged by his aunt Amalia of Solms who presented him when a young man with an automaton of Diana. He would later commission a great number of timepieces, navigational aids, barometers and other weather monitoring equipment from makers such as Thomas Tompion. Mary II collected with even greater

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid. Vol. II. p.155

⁴⁰⁸ *Calender of State Papers. Domestic. Charles II 1660-1661*. vol. I. p.499

⁴⁰⁹ In August 1689 John Evelyn would write to Samuel Pepys assuming that much of the collection had not survived the Commonwealth dispersals and lamenting its loss. 'For thus has a cabinet of ten thousand medals, not inferior to most abroad & far superior to any at home.....been imbeziled and carried away during our late barbarous Rebellion, by whom & whither none can or is likely to discover'. Cited in Strong, *Roy. Henry, Prince of Wales* op cit. p.197

enthusiasm the decorative arts of the Middle and Far East.

Mary II's collecting commenced in 1677 following her marriage to her cousin William of Orange. She had been granted an annual income of 10000l for her Privy Purse, and details of her purchases made from a small number of merchants operating in Amsterdam and The Hague are painstakingly recorded in a private account book preserved in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle.⁴¹⁰ Oriental decorative arts were to become a distinctive feature in the furnishing of all her houses, Honselaersdyck and Het Loo in the Netherlands and later in Britain at Kensington Palace and Hampton Court Palace. Ceramics were collected with particular passion, leading to Daniel Defoe's famous comment that 'the Queen brought in the custom ... of filling the houses with China-ware, which increased to a strange degree afterwards, piling their China upon the Tops of Cabinets, Scrutores, and every Chymney-Piece to the Tops of the Ceilings, and even setting up Shelves for their China-Ware where they wanted such places'.⁴¹¹

By 1690 it was evident that the greater part of the oriental collection was gathered together within the Queen's Apartments at Kensington Palace where it is recorded in three inventories. Two were completed by Simon de Brienne, the Housekeeper in 1697 and 1699 respectively after the Queen's death. They survive in the town archives in Delft.⁴¹² In addition BL Add Ms.56078 includes more information and indicates slightly

⁴¹⁰ RL *Account Book kept by Queen Mary II when Princess of Orange 1678-1689*

⁴¹¹ Defoe, D. *A Tour thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain* Edited by G.D.E.Cole. 2 vol. London. Peter Davies. 1927. Vol I. p.166. However, it should be noted that Mary's interest may have been fostered by members of the House of Orange. William's aunt, Luise Henriette, wife of Friedrich Wilhelm, Elector of Brandenburg, had an extensive collection at the Oranienburg Palace near Berlin, His aunt, Albertina Agnes of Nassau-Dietz built the porcelain room in the Oranienstein near Koblenz.

⁴¹² Scheurleer, T.H.L. 'Documents on the Furnishing of Kensington House' *Walpole Society* vol. 37. 1960-

different arrangements for the porcelain making it tempting to date this inventory to 1693-1694, while the Queen was still alive.

There are many descriptions of 'pretty square jars of white and red and blue' in the Drawing Room, flasks of 'white china with branches of red, green and blue', in the Old Bedchamber, which indicate Kakiemon wares from the kilns at Nangawara. There are large white figures 'of women, each with a child' which will be Blanc de Chine produced at Dehua in Fujian. There is much transitional enamelled ware, and blue and white Kangxi is present in profusion. Items range in size from a blue and white 'pott like a mortar' placed under a table in the 'Gardin Room', to 'very little cups called taisters' displayed in cabinets. In the Dressing Room forty eight pieces were segregated in a 'wallnot tree platt case inlaide with white'. The arrangement in the case unusually is not symmetrical, many of the items are described as 'fine', and many are given metal mounts, indicating perhaps that they were precious more historic items.⁴¹³

The inventories reveal that Mary's interests also extended to lacquer, jade and other small scale statuary made of precious and semi-precious stones.⁴¹⁴ The Windsor Account books and a collection of Privy Purse bills which arrived following her death in 1694, and are now preserved in the British Library, show that the Queen obtained such goods from a limited stable of East India merchants in The Netherlands and in London.⁴¹⁵ Other pieces

1962. pp.21-58

⁴¹³ BL. Add.Ms. 56078. Transcribed and edited by J.M. Marschner in Hinton, M and Impey, O. *Kensington Palace and the Porcelain of Queen Mary II* London. Christies. 1998. pp.85-99

⁴¹⁴ The scope of the collections made by Mary II is discussed by Marschner, J.M. in 'Queen Mary as a Collector' in Hinton, M and Impey, O. *Kensington Palace and the Porcelain of Queen Mary II* op cit. pp.49-59

⁴¹⁵ TNA.LC9/279 f.177: TNA. LC9/280 f.30 : BL .Add.Ms. 5751A f.151, f.174

were presents. John Evelyn, in 1693 describes a set of furniture made of blonde amber, comprising a cabinet, a looking glass frame and stands, all carved with bas reliefs which the Queen had received from Brandenburg.⁴¹⁶

William III and Mary II however had a different attitude to their collections. There was no effort to gather them together in a single location. Instead every room in their apartments at Kensington Palace, Hampton Court and at Whitehall had their own arrangements. At Kensington Palace, where Mary II's collection of Asian ceramics was massed, items were placed over doors and chimneypieces, and crowded on and under lacquer cabinets, stands and tea tables, and other especially commissioned pieces of furniture made up by cabinet makers such as Gerrit Jensen and William Emmett.⁴¹⁷ The discrepancies between the British Museum inventory and those compiled after her death, indicate that the Queen enjoyed playing with the pieces; alternating brightly coloured pieces with those where the colouring was more subdued and changing the profiles of the arrangements by inserting a very large or small item as a centre piece.

The collection contributed to the creation of an exotic environment in which the Queen chose to live, and it provided for her simple amusement. There was no attempt to record a provenance for a piece, or even note its original function. There seems to have been no system behind the arrangement of the items and no qualitative appraisal either for artistic or technical merit. As Archbishop Fowles observed in 1694, she simply had 'a richness of

⁴¹⁶ Evelyn, John. *Diary* Edited Dobson op.cit. Vol.III. p.303

⁴¹⁷ TNA. LC9/280 f.43 : TNA. Works 5/55 f.169

invention with a happiness of contrivance'.⁴¹⁸

While the collections made by William and Mary in their early years in the Netherlands were regarded of sufficient interest to be carefully packed up, shipped to London and delivered to the Backstairs at Whitehall, I can find little evidence that the King and Queen placed special value on the collections of curiosities they inherited on their arrival in London, or made efforts to integrate them with their new purchases.⁴¹⁹ It may be that the extensive building campaigns at Hampton Court and at Kensington proved too great a distraction. Mary's death in 1694 and the destruction of Whitehall Palace in the fire of 1698 would also have preoccupied William. As has been noted when the King and Queen had time and opportunity they delighted in their discoveries of royal treasures, such as the Holbein drawings.

William evidently did not regard Queen Mary's purchases as contributions to the greater royal collection. Following her death he gave her oriental ceramics together with the greater part of her collection of lacquer to his friend Arnold Joost van Keppel, Earl of Albemarle. Albermarle came to Kensington to witness the collection being carefully packed into cases in November 1699.⁴²⁰ The crates were transported to The Hague to await the completion of building works at the Voorst, the Earl's new house there. Building delays, a fire in the Earl's house in The Hague, and eventually a series of sales in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have ensured that this part of the collection is

⁴¹⁸ William III, King of England (1650-1702) *The Royal Diary of William III to which is prefaced the character of Queen Mary II* London. 1705. p.4

⁴¹⁹ TNA. T27/11-13 vol. XII p.119, 151: vol. XIII p.368

⁴²⁰ Historical Manuscripts Commission. *Report of the Manuscripts of his Grace the Duke of Buccleuch and*

now lost.

When Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach visited Kensington Palace in 1710, he noted little beyond the collection of scientific instruments which had been put together by William III scattered through the royal apartments, a screen covered with 'all manner of Indian birds with their natural feathers on it' and the 'small amber box with several figures on it, extremely well wrought' probably surviving from the gift made to Mary II from the Elector of Brandenburg.⁴²¹ There is no indication of any systematic arrangement of curiosities in a particular location. However I would suggest that just as the Holbein, da Vinci and other drawings had been lodged at Kensington Palace following the fire at Whitehall, the collection of curiosities, as it had survived, may also have been moved there for safekeeping. Following the accession in 1727, Caroline had both the time and inclination to hunt for the pieces and bring them back together again.

Horace Walpole in 1764 noticed that in putting together her *wunderkammer* the Queen had drawn on earlier collections. He noted that she had been retrieved the 'shock dog, marble; incomparable workmanship; I believe by Bernini' described earlier by Abraham van der Doort who believed it had originally belonged to Henry VIII.⁴²² This was noted in Horace Walpole's annotations made in 1757 to his copy of Bathoe. Against Bathoe's

Queensbury.....preserved at Montagu House, Whitehall 3 vol. London HMSO. 1903. Vol II. pp.632-633

⁴²¹ Uffenbach, Zacharias Conrad von. *London in 1710* op cit. pp. 156-157

⁴²² Walpole Society. *Abraham van der Doort's Catalogue* op. cit. pp.96-97. 'A Whitehall peece done in King Henry the 8ts tyme. Item a little shagged dogg scratching his head with his left hinder legg being carved in Alleblaster wch yor Maty had when you were Prince being don in King Hnery 8ts tyme. p.212: 'A little shagg dogg scratching his upper lipp with his left hinder foote carved in Allabaster – Auncient and very curious work' : it is interesting to note that John Evelyn describes 'an antique of a dog in stone scratching his ear; very rarely cut, and comparable to the greatest curiosity I had ever seen of that kind for the accurateness of the work' in the collection of Signor Rugini in Venice on 29 September 1645. Evelyn,

entry which reads 'A little shagged dog scratching his head with his left hinder foot, being carved in alabaster which the King had when he was Prince being done in King Henry VIII's time', Walpole has written 'at Kensington, a Whitehall piece done in K Hen VIII's time'. It is entirely possible that the 'small round amber box containing a head of King James I', and a 'curious little book of manuscript, written by Esther Inglis. 1615, and dedicated to King Charles I' had also survived from this generation. Gems and cameos described in Mrs Purcell's and Horace Walpole's listings almost certainly contained some examples from the collections amassed by English monarchs since the sixteenth century. There are nearly two hundred items listed by Mrs Purcell. The lists include a cameo head of the Emperor Claudius dating from c.43-45 which was once probably part of the collection of Henry Prince of Wales. It had been broken by Lady Somerset during the period her husband served as Lord Chamberlain to James I. (Figure 107) There were also two cameos of Philip II of Spain who was also represented by cameos in the collection of Charles I according to van der Doort's inventory.⁴²³ The two striking cameos, one of sardonyx, another of agate of Queen Elizabeth I and another described as being of Mary Queen of Scots made of sardonyx, are just the kind of subject collected by Caroline's predecessors.⁴²⁴ (Figures 108-110) Fifty two rings set in iron recorded in Mrs Purcell's listing are certainly those from Charles I's collection from which Elias Ashmole had taken wax impressions in 1660.⁴²⁵

Although the medals which form such a substantial part of Mrs Purcell's list are not

John *Diary* Edited Dobson. op cit. Vol. I. p.311

⁴²³ Claudius RCIN 65238. Philip II RCIN 65201. Philip II RCIN 65199

⁴²⁴ Horace Walpole 1763 describes RCIN 65191: RCIN 56191: RCIN 65186: RCIN 65187: Mrs Purcell lists RCIN 65249

described in detail it is entirely possible that these also represent the entire medal collection of the early Stuart monarchs as it had survived the Commonwealth. It is compelling to think that this collection may have made its way to Kensington Palace following the fire at Whitehall Palace, in the same way that the collection of da Vinci, Holbein and other drawings did.

Collections in Hanover also seem to have served as another source of curiosities which Caroline could draw upon. In the handwritten notes of movements of library books from St James's there is a record that on the 5th May 1735 Mrs Clayton delivered following the orders of the Queen 'un caisse remplie de grands verres qui sont venue de Hanover'. A second entry reads 'Delivre a Madame Clayton une caisse de verres d'Allemagne quelle a demande de la parte de la reine'.⁴²⁶

Caroline's interest in curiosities ensured she received gifts from her family and her friends. The King of Prussia presented her with an amber casket.⁴²⁷ When Liselotte's half-sister the Raugravine Louise who in 1715 served Caroline when Princess of Wales as Lady of the Bedchamber sent her a medal in 1717, she replied thanking her for the gift, declaring 'it gave me great pleasure, I have Dr Luther in gold and silver now'.⁴²⁸

Within the summary list of the letters exchanged between Liselotte and Caroline made in

⁴²⁵ The wax impressions taken from the rings survive in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

⁴²⁶ BL Add Ms 11511 contains reference to a book called *L'Art de la Verrerie* by M. Handicquer de Blancourt, published in Paris in 1697.

⁴²⁷ Discussed in Trusted, M. *Catalogue of European Ambers in the Victoria and Albert Museum*. London. Victoria and Albert Museum. 1985. p.14

⁴²⁸ Elisabeth Charlotte, Duchesse d'Orléans. *Life and Letters of Elisabeth Charlotte, Princess Palatine 1652-1723* London. 1889. p.246

1909, letters 727, 734, 739 and 741 describe the gifts of ‘gegrabene, nachge...stein,’ or engraved stones presumably copies of antique intaglios while letter 1041 details the gift of medals.⁴²⁹ Within the Royal Collection an elaborate pendant survives. It is composed of a seventeenth century enameled jewel probably made in France set later with a chalcedony cameo showing Joseph and his brothers. Around the central relief are set twelve cameos, one of which is antique, the remainder are Italian and date from the sixteenth century. There are three pendant cameos beneath. The jewel seems to have been adapted in the early eighteenth century, probably in France, and it is compelling to suggest this may have been one of Liselotte’s gifts. The pendant is described in two of the inventories made of Caroline’s curiosities.⁴³⁰ (Figure 111)

Letter 831 sent in 1717 records that Liselotte sent two ‘eggs of tortoise’ as a present for Caroline. ‘I hope this pleasantry will please’, she wrote. Even though the only egg referred to in the inventories of Caroline’s curiosities is described as being made of ‘chyrstal’. it is very compelling to link to Liselotte a gold and ivory egg which survives in the Danish Royal Collection which may have arrived there through the offices of Caroline’s daughter Mary.

The egg is composed of many intricate elements. (Figures 112-118) An ivory egg unscrews to reveal one of gold. In one end of the golden egg a vignette is concealed,

⁴²⁹ Veltheim, A.F. von. *Anecdotes von Franzosischen Hofe vorzugliche aus den zeiten Ludewigs des XIV und des Duc Regent, aus den Briefen der Madame d’Orléans, Charlotte Elisabeth, Herzog Philipp I von Orléans Witwe* Strabourg. 1789: Elisabeth Charlotte, Duchesse d’Orléans. *Memoir of the Court of Louis XIV and of the Regency, being the Secret Memoir of Elisabeth Charlotte, Duchesse d’Orléans, Mother of the Regent* Court Memoir Series. Boston. L.C. Page. 1899

⁴³⁰ BL Add Ms. 20101 ‘A hanging Jewell of onexes containing 12 heads and a piece of figures in the middle’. RA Geo.Add.Ms.16 ‘A large cameo set round with several others’

and at the other end a cap lifts off to reveal an enamelled egg yolk set in egg white. This feature serves as a lid to an inner chamber which contains a golden hen having enamelled feathers and diamond eyes which sits on a diamond and enamel nest. A hinged compartment in the hen's back opens to reveal a golden crown set with pearls and diamonds, having a red cornelian as a base engraved with a bird and the motto 'Il Defend'. The crown is hinged in the centre, and opens to reveal a ring studded with diamonds. The large diamond is set over a cypher of two C's intertwined, composed in gold wire. The cypher is arranged beneath a crown and an electoral hat.

The presence of the electoral hat, in conjunction with the crown is especially significant in establishing the veracity of the egg's traditional provenance. When Lisalotte married Philippe Duke of Orléans, the brother of Louis XIV of France in 1671, she had converted to Catholicism, thereby giving up her right to the British throne, to which she would have had a stronger claim than King George I. Liselotte saw this as a bond with Caroline, writing 'But we are made of the same stuff - electoral children who have become royal'.⁴³¹ The two C's could signify Elisabeth Charlotte as donor and Caroline as recipient.

The inventory of Liselotte's effects made on her death in 1722 contains reference to 'un oef' at entry one hundred and thirty six, and entry two hundred and fifteen reads 'trois oeufs' of silver gilt. Liselotte evidently delighted in this form of artifact and it is perhaps

⁴³¹ Elisabeth Charlotte, Duchesse d'Orléans. *Briefe der Herzogin Elisabeth Charlotte van Orléans* Edited by W.L.Holland. Stuttgart. 1871. Letter 735 cited in Bencard, Mogens. *The Hen in the Egg* Amalianborg. De Dansk Kongers Kronologiske Samling. 1999. p.23

not surprising that she commissioned examples for her friends.⁴³²

There are other eggs of this type in existence. One is in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna. Another from the *Grünes Gewölbe* collection of Augustus the Strong was returned to the House of Wettin in 1924. A third egg is known from the inventory made in 1733 of the collection of effects of the Margravine Sibylla Augusta of Löwenburg (1675-1733). It remained in the House of Baden until sold to Louis Philippe of Orléans in 1775. All the eggs surviving are thought to be of French workmanship. The presence of a variety of cyphers and mottoes in both French and German, together with the incorporation of specific portraits shows that they were produced to special commission.⁴³³

The ivory and golden egg was presented to the Danish Royal Collection in 1900 as part of the bequest from Wilhelmine, daughter of King Frederick VI of Hessen Kassel, who had died in 1891, to her 'beloved brother and sister-in-law, the King and Queen of Denmark, and the heirs to the Danish throne'. Wilhelmine, as a future queen, had been presented with the piece in 1828, on her marriage to Prince Frederick, later Frederick VII of Denmark. Within the box containing the egg was a note in Wilhelmine's hand which recorded 'The costly egg which I received from my beloved mother when she was still alive, was a gift from the Duchess of Orléans to the Queen of England, my mother's great Grandmother. My mother inherited from her grandmother, the Landgravine of Hesse née

⁴³² Barthelemy E de. *Inventaire du Mobilier de la Duchesse d'Orléans, Mère du Regent, après son Décès en 1722* Bulletin du Comité des Travaux Historiques. Paris. 1883

⁴³³ The Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, egg did not arrive in the Schatzkammer until between 1773 and 1785. Its earlier history is unknown. Augustus the Strong's egg was sold at auction by the House of Wettin

Princess of England'.⁴³⁴ The Landgravine was Mary, the younger daughter of Queen Caroline.

Letter 714 written by Liselotte concerned her gift to Caroline of a ring which had belonged to the Electress Sophia of Hanover, her aunt. In 1716, Liselotte sent to her half sister Louise a ring to pass on to Caroline, contained in a little gold box. It was set with 'four tiny but genuine green diamonds'. In return Caroline was just as generous, sending portraits of her two elder daughters, a gold knife in a box, and a sealskin case containing slides for a microscope.⁴³⁵

The Queen's interest in exotic rarities must have been evident to her contemporaries as these also frequently were presented as gifts. On August 13, 1728 Lord Chesterfield wrote to Mrs Howard, her Woman of the Bedchamber, and later Mistress of the Robes, 'I have bought some china (which was brought by the last East India ship that came in) of a very particular sort, its greatest merit is being entirely new; which in my mind may be almost as well as being undoubtably old; and I have got all there was of it, which amounts to no more than a service for tea, and chocolate with a basin and ewer. They are of metal enamelled inside and out with china of all colours. As I know the Queen loves china, I fancy she would like them, but it would not become me to take the liberty of offering them to her Majesty; but if you think she would like them, I must beg you will be so good as to take the whole affair upon yourself and manage it so that I may not seem

in 1988. The Baden egg contains within its small crown a portrait of Margrave Ludwig Wilhelm of Baden. Louis Philippe of Orléans was great grandson of Liselotte.

⁴³⁴ Bencard, M. *The Hen in the Egg* op cit. p.20

⁴³⁵ The Raugravine Louise remained in London until 1717.

impertinent'.⁴³⁶

Other rarities were presented for inspection and admiration. *The Daily Post and General Advertiser* in September 1736, noted that Mr Clay 'Inventor of Machine Watches in the Strand', had brought to Kensington Palace his new mechanical clock.⁴³⁷ The Queen's long involvement with the community of specialist craftsmen in London was such that as early as 1715 as Princess of Wales she had joined three hundred guests at the wedding of the daughter of Daniel Quare, a celebrated watchmaker in Change Alley.⁴³⁸ In May 1732 *The Gentleman's Magazine* records how a male dwarf was brought from Denmark for their Majesties. 'He stood under the arm of the Duke of Cumberland to the amusement of the company'.⁴³⁹ On February 7th, 1716, Lady Cowper attended on the Queen. She reported 'when I got there I found Sir John Germaine showing the Princess his rarities consisting of seals and reliefs. She had not Time to see them all this Evening so many of the Masquers came to show themselves'. The next day the examination resumed; 'soon after the Princess called me in to see the Remainder of Sir John Germaine's Rarities. They were the collection of the late Earl of Peterboroughamongst other things he showed us the dagger of King Henry VIII which he always wore and is pictured with'.⁴⁴⁰

Curiosities were also purchased. As early as 1716 Lady Cowper recorded that 'The Princess told me she had sent for amber out of Germany for the boxes for her ladies, but as she loved and esteemed me a hundred times more than any of the rest, she would make

⁴³⁶ Howard, H, Countess of Suffolk, afterwards Berkeley, Hon. Mrs George. *Letters to and from Henrietta, Countess of Suffolk* op cit. Vol.I. p.304

⁴³⁷ *Daily Post and General Advertiser* Sept. 1, 1736

⁴³⁸ Francis, J. *Chronicles and Characters of the Stock Exchange* London. 1849. p.46

a distinction and so pulled out of a drawer a fine gold box...'.⁴⁴¹ In 1733 a new addition to the collection was a 'peau blanche des Indes' delivered to Mrs Purcell and recorded in the library book movements log. In 1735 'une casete avec l'argenterie et Emagne' arrived and the log also records the acquisition of 'petite statue de Bronze ou Bras Mercury' that later would be given to the Duke of Cumberland. It is possible that she had also recently acquired the six 'plats de cheney de couleur blanche et rouge et trois autres blan et bleu' which were delivered to Mrs Purcell's valet on 23rd August 1734. The same records note that Mrs Purcell had also sanctioned another delivery of 'cheney qui estoit dans une grand caisse dans la grande chambre' just a few months later in May. Whether or not these pieces were acquired as curiosities is impossible to determine. Walpole notes moreover in the annotations to his copy of Bathoe that William Kent had prepared a design for a china cabinet for the Queen. Perhaps these pieces were being marshalled in anticipation of this scheme.

In 1733 the Queen paid Thomas Wright £336 for 'making new all the Machinery and Wheel-Work to perform the Motions of all the planets and Co to the Great Orrery'.⁴⁴² The model was set up in the Queen's Gallery at Kensington. (Figure 119) It is interesting to note that of a house in 'pearwood' was made by Mr Marshall of Vine Street in 1735 to show the design of a new royal residence proposed for Richmond. It was deemed 'as curious a piece of workmanship as any of that kind ever seen in England'. Even though the new house was never built, the Queen was so delighted she had the model set up in

⁴³⁹ *The Gentleman's Magazine* May 1732. p.771

⁴⁴⁰ Cowper, Mary, Countess. *Diary* op cit. p.69, pp.71-72

⁴⁴¹ *Ibid.* p.79

⁴⁴² TNA. LC5/19 f.55

the existing house in Richmond.⁴⁴³ It is clear that rare and beautiful artifacts were being acquired by the Queen.

It had been the capture of a number of Portuguese carracks by Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Burrough near the Azores in 1593, which identified the variety and the profitability of the Indian business. The first voyage made by the East India Company, was intended to capture lucrative routes and establish company factories in Asheen and Sumatra. The expedition travelled on to the Moluccas and Bantam in Java, before returning to Britain in 1603. In the course of the next ten years, eight further voyages were made. The earliest of these were destined exclusively for the islands of the Indian Ocean, such as Sumatra, Java and Amboyna, but in 1608, the factors in Bantam and the Moluccas recommended that the routes be extended to Surat and Cambaya. This initiative proved very successful, and there was an additional boost to trade with India in 1614, when following the embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to the Great Moghal Court, a right to 'general and perpetual trade' was formally established. By 1625, Thomas Rastell, Giles James and Richard Lancaster writing to the Council of the East India Company describe coral and 'elephants teeth' purchased in Swally Road, and the schedules of the cargoes of other ships include amber, diamonds, ceramics, emeralds, bezoars, ebony, mother of pearl, tortoiseshell and 'tyger skins'.⁴⁴⁴

While in the sixteenth century the opportunity for the acquisition of rarities had been restricted to those able to take advantage of diplomatic or missionary initiatives, or state

⁴⁴³ *General Evening Post*. Sept. 16. 1735

⁴⁴⁴ *Calender of State Papers. Colonial Series. East Indies 1625* p.28

sponsored voyages of discovery as part of territorial expansion, by the early eighteenth century, there was an established market. The traditional sources continued to be fruitful, however, and those connected with the diplomatic services such as Lady Mary Wortley Montagu took advantage of her husband's position as Ambassador in the Middle East, to forge contacts with merchants operating from Aleppo, 'Grand Cairo' Arabia and Palestine.⁴⁴⁵

Special cargoes arriving by ship were advertised in local newspapers. *The Daily Post* in April 1736, announced 'Just arrived, a very fine collection of shells and brilliant state fit either for cabinet, grotto or frame work, and allowed by all that have seen them to be the best of the kind that have been brought to England for many years past'. On occasion there were more unusual consignments. In 1657, John Evelyn travelled to Greenwich to view 'a sort of cat brought from the West Indies, shaped and snouted much like the Egyptian racoon.....its hair woolly like a lamb'.⁴⁴⁶ The strangest items tended to end up in exhibition in coffee houses. Charing Cross Coffee House at the corner of Spring Gardens was especially noted for its freak shows. As late as about 1760, the Heathcock Tavern and Coffee House in the Strand exhibited 'a surprising young mermaid taken on the coats of Aquapulca'.⁴⁴⁷

Rarities found their way into the hands of a broad range of dealers. John Evelyn in 1645, recommended the merchants in Pozzuoli and the Piazza Navona in Rome for medals,

⁴⁴⁵ Wortley Montagu, Lady Mary. *The Letters and Works of Lady Wortley Montagu* Edited by Lord Wharncliffe. 2nd edition revised. 2 vol. London. Richard Bentley. 1861. vol. II. p.26

⁴⁴⁶ Evelyn, John. *Diary* Edited Dobson op. cit. Vol II. p.121-122

⁴⁴⁷ Lillywhite, Bryant. *London Coffee Houses : A Reference Book of Coffee Houses of the Seventeenth,*

pictures and 'curiosities'.⁴⁴⁸ In Paris he went to the 'Samarittain', at the end of the Pont Neuf, where he viewed 'great pieces of crystal, amethysts, gold in the mine, and other medals and marcasites with the great conchas'. Nearby there was a shop called 'Noahs Ark', 'where are to be had for money all the curiosities naturell or artificial imaginable, India or Guinea, for display, or use as.....shells lamps, Purselan, Dried fishes, rare insects, birds, pictures and a thousand exotic extravagances'.⁴⁴⁹

The 'toy' business established in the seventeenth century by William Beard in Cockspur Street, London, went from strength to strength under his daughter, Mrs Chenevix. Horace Walpole would buy his Strawberry Hill estate in Twickenham from her in 1747. John Evelyn chose Hondius and Bleams for his atlases, and noted that a shop nearby sold 'some shells and Indian curiosities'. In 1676 he went with his wife and her friend Mrs Godolphin to Blackwell to 'see some Indian curiosities'.⁴⁵⁰ In 1710, von Uffenbach found a merchant in Charing Cross whose stock comprised 'an extremely elegant cabinet of coins, a superabundance of statues, as many as two hundred to two hundred and fifty of all kind of idols, utensils and other such things'.⁴⁵¹ The *Daily Post* on 3rd January 1736 mentions 'George Wilding at the Great Goldsmith and Toyshop at the corner of Ludgate Street near St Pauls'. Within there was the 'greatest choice of curious things in gold, large and small, all sorts of fine plate and curious things in silver, all sorts of jewels and jewellery work, fine china and antlers the very best spectacles, reading glasses, telescopes, microscopes and perspective glasses'.

Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries. London. Allan & Unwin. 1963. p.703

⁴⁴⁸ Evelyn, John. *Diary* Edited Dobson. op cit. Vol. I. p.248

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid. Vol II. p.26

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid. Vol. I. pp.39-40 : Vol II. p.395

Collectors also circulated rarities amongst themselves. Duplicates and sub-standard exhibits were traded for new material, or were passed on to interested parties. James Salter, sometime employee of Sir Hans Sloane, by trade a barber, set up a coffee house at 18 Cheyne Walk in 1695. It became known as Don Salteros. *Tatler* in June 1709 contains a description of the extraordinary interior: 'when I came into the coffee house I had not time to salute the company before my eye was diverted by ten thousand gimcracks around the room and the ceiling'. Dudley Ryder describes the same room in 1715 'both standing round the walls and hanging from the ceiling are all manner of exotic beasts, such as crocodiles and fishes as well as Indian and other strange costumes and weapons.....'.⁴⁵² A catalogue of the eclectic collection was made in 1732 and ran to two hundred and ninety three items and covered ethnography, naturalia, and antiquities as well as cuiosities such as 'Queen Elizabeth's stocking', and 'Henry VIII's coat of mail'.⁴⁵³ Sir Hans Sloane was credited as a major benefactor.

Collections were frequently auctioned off on the death of the compiler. The *Daily Post* on 30th March 1738 gives notice 'to all virtuosos and other that on Tuesday 15 April will begin the sale of all the valuable and rare effects of the late Marshall Duke d'Estrees, the sale is one of the most considerable ever yet to fall to publick auction, either with regard to the quality or number of precious and rare Japan wares, hangings and other movables and crystal lustres of all sorts, set in gold, pradoes, porcelaines and chinaware, the most

⁴⁵¹ Uffenbach, Zacharias Conrad von. *London in 1710* op. cit. pp.36-37

⁴⁵² Matthews, W ed. *The Diary of Dudley Ryder 1715-1716* London. Methuen and Co. Ltd. 1939. p.161

⁴⁵³ Guildhall Library Pamphlet. 4393. *A catalogue of the Rarities to be seen at Don Salteros Coffee House in Chelsea London. 1732* : Guildhall Library Pamphlet. 12940. *A Catalogue of the rarities to be seen at*

ancient busts of all kinds, both ancient and modern seals and Egyptian figures, Roman and Greek medals and medallions of gold and other metals'. On 1st May 1742 the *Evening Post* reported that 'to be sold by hand, within the doors of Durham Yard in the Strand the genuine goods of the late Mr Smith an upholster and cabinet maker : 'There is some very fine china, small Indian cabinets, with a fine collection of shells and other curiosities'. The collection of the late Duke of Richmond would be auctioned in April 1751, from Kildare House, his residence in Arlington Street. *The London Advertiser* on April 10th recorded it comprised 'bronzes, busts, statues and natural curiosities, fine old china, Japan and Dresden porcelain'.

Although I can find no specific reference to Queen Caroline approaching 'toy' dealers or purchasing curiosities at auction, I am confident that amongst the new additions to the tradition royal collection there were items that she had purchased.

It is arresting to find that Caroline almost certainly commissioned her own gems, which joined royal gems marshaled from the collections of earlier monarchs in the *wunderkammer*. When discussing Queen Caroline's collections with Dr Kirsten Aschengreen Piacenti, who was researching gems surviving in the Royal Collection, I realized that Mrs Purcell's inventory of the Queen's curiosities contained in BL Add Ms.20101 and the information contained in the sequence of later inventories, could explain dating anomalies she had noted. Dr Piacenti was convinced that a cameo of sardonyx carved with portraits of Henry VIII and the young Prince Edward set in a gold

mount, and another carved from sardonyx with a very similar portrait of Henry VIII were of eighteenth century manufacture. (Figures 120-121) The modeling of both is very flat with the detail almost engraved rather than carved. The image used of the King in both instances and of Prince Edward were related to images by Holbein known in the eighteenth century. Henry VIII is based on his cartoon for the Whitehall painting celebrating the Tudor dynasty the copy of which by Leemput was copied in watercolour by George Vertue in 1737, prior to the publishing of his engraving. Edward is based on a drawing that survives in the Royal Collection, which would also have been known by Vertue. Within the larger cameo the portraits of the king and his son sit rather uncomfortably together reflecting perhaps that they were drawn from two separate sources. There is a cameo of Prince Edward alone, carved in the same way as the royal collection pair, and with the same curious half finished intaglio of the larger double portrait on the reverse in the collection at Chatsworth House.⁴⁵⁴ Items have survived with the Dukes of Devonshire at Chatsworth from the collections of Lord Burlington. Could it be that he too was caught up with championing of the Tudor dynasty and was also interested in the traditional craft of gem cutting and either received this piece as a gift or commissioned it on his own part?

The two probably pseudo sixteenth-century cameos are not identifiable in Mrs Purcell's inventory of the Queen's curiosities, but are easily picked out of Horace Walpole's lists made when the collection was moved to Windsor Castle. There were certainly gem cutters of some standing operating in London, such as Charles Christian Reisen (1680-1725) and Herr Croker and Monsieur Regmer, the first mentioned by Vertue, the last two

⁴⁵⁴ Chatsworth House. Number 48

visited by Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach when he was in London in 1710, but it has not been possible to prove a link with the Queen.⁴⁵⁵

The Queen was certainly aware of collections of curiosities elsewhere. Lord Hervey recommended that 'there was no way of seeing a collection but by going to peoples houses'.⁴⁵⁶ Although George II taunted the Queen for following Hervey's advice, in July 1732 the Queen with the three eldest princesses visited not only the Honourable Henry Pelham's house in Esher, but also his brother, the Duke of Newcastle's collection at Claremont, and Gubbins, the house of Sir Jeremy Sambrook in Hertfordshire. At Gubbins it was carefully noted that the royal party viewed 'his fine gardens, waterworks, and his collection of curiosities'.⁴⁵⁷

The estate called Gubbins or Gobiens, which in 1300 had been owned by the Knights Hospitallers, was acquired by John More in 1390. It remained in his family for the next three hundred years. The property passed through several hands at the end of the seventeenth century, to be purchased in 1728 by Sir Jeremy Sambrook from Robert Beachcroft. Under Beachcroft the sixteenth century house was enlarged with a new wing of ten bays, and a new staircase was inserted. Sambrook subsequently employed James Gibbs as his architect. His work principally involved the construction of a series of garden pavilions, including a dovecote, temple and a folly arch in the gothic taste, the last

⁴⁵⁵ Vertue *Notebooks* op cit. Vol III p. 13, pp.25-26 : Uffenbach, Z.C.von. *London in 1710* op cit. p. 43, p.134.

⁴⁵⁶ Hervey, John, Baron. *Memoirs* Edited Croker. op cit. Vol. II. p.224

⁴⁵⁷ *The Gentleman's Magazine* July 1732 pp.874-875

of which survives on the boundary line of the estate.⁴⁵⁸ (Figure 122) Daniel Defoe noted ‘for the beauty of the gardens as well as the House...made the place one of the most remarkable curiosities in England’. A full description of its attraction was provided by George Bickham, writing in 1750. He claimed in his *Beauties of Stowe* that ‘the famous gardens of Sir Jeremy Sambrook at Gubbins....deserves a travellers admiration... a sensible resemblance in miniature of Stowe...imagine yourself on a vast hill, shaded all over with a forest of oakes through which have been cut an infinite number of alleys covered in the finest gravel; there you meet a grotto agreeably adorned....then you come to a large square embellished in orange trees and statues and also a beautiful summerhouse whose windows present on every side a most delicious prospect....the beauty of the alleys, the pleasing variety of the prospects, the nature of the ornaments, and the singular taste that prevails through the whole distributionform altogether almost the only garden of its kind’.⁴⁵⁹

The Sambrook family had been in East India Company service since 1608, when an earlier Jeremy Sambrook was employed as an accountant. He would rise eventually to the position of Accountant General, which commanded an annual salary in excess of £200 before he committed suicide in 1669. Mr Samuel Sambrook, who was probably his son, was engaged in 1658 as an overseer in one of the Company’s calico warehouses at a salary of £100 per year. The name Sambrook occurs regularly as signatory in the financial dealings of the Company throughout the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. While I have not been able to find any description of Sir Jeremy’s collection of

⁴⁵⁸ BL.Add.Ms. 3250 ff.143-146 : Ashmolean Ms. Vol.III. 87.IV.40

⁴⁵⁹ Wallis. Peter. *Charles Bridgeman, and the English Landscape Garden* London. Zwemmer. 1977 p.86

rarities, his family was in a privileged position, and had the means to acquire artifacts of the highest calibre. His collection was held in high regard. Lord Egmont also endeavoured to arrange a visit in 1739.⁴⁶⁰

Queen Caroline visited the collection of Sir Hans Sloane at a date unknown.⁴⁶¹ Hans Sloane was born in Killyleagh, County Down in Ireland in 1660, the seventh son of Alexander Sloane, agent to James Hamilton, 2nd Viscount Clandeboye, later Earl of Clanbrasill. At the age of seventeen Sloane was sent to London to study chemistry at Apothecaries Hall. Following this course of study, and encouraged by his mentors Robert Boyle and John Ray, he travelled to France, where he completed further studies at the universities of Orange and Montpellier. On his return to London, and newly elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, he was given the opportunity to travel to the West Indies for fifteen months in the service of the Duke of Albemarle. He returned in 1689 and spent the next ten years writing up his observations, in conjunction with the establishment of his successful medical practice. In 1707 and 1725 he published *Voyage to the Islands Madera, Barbados, Nieves, S. Christophers and Jamaica...with the Natural History of thelast of those Islands*.

In his house, at 4 Bloomsbury Place, Sloane created a 'Repository' of ethnography and naturalia, which John Evelyn visited as early as 1691.⁴⁶² The collection swelled as he bought up groups of material drawn together by James Petiver, Jeremiah Grew, William Courten, Leonard Plukenet, Jakob Danzig, James Cunningham, Georg Joseph Kamel and

⁴⁶⁰ BL.Add.Ms. 47013A f.99

⁴⁶¹ BL. Sloane Ms. 3516

Dr Engelbert Kaempfer.

Sloane's contact with the Royal Family commenced in 1712, when he was appointed Physician in Ordinary to Queen Anne. He continued in this post under George I, and in 1727 George II chose to ratify his appointment; Sloane 'having been before constant employ'd about the whole Royal Family & always honour'd with the esteem & favour of the queen Consort'. He was ennobled in 1716 and attended Queen Caroline in her last illness. It is striking that the collections the Queen and her family visited were exclusively complied by men.

The Queen also surrounded herself with men who proved to be some of the most notable collectors of the period. Sir Robert Walpole, whose collecting had commenced in about 1717 built Houghton Hall as his new seat in Norfolk and a place where his collection might be shown off to best advantage. The first catalogue was made in 1736, the second completed in 1743 was published in 1747 as *Aedes Walpolianae*.

The Queen's Vice-chamberlain was Sir Andrew Fountaine (1676-1753). Sir Andrew was son of Andrew Fountaine, Member of Parliament for Narford, Norfolk, and Sarah, daughter of Sir Thomas Chicheley, Master of the Ordenance. During his studies at Oxford he encountered Dr Aldrich and Dr Hickes who introduced him to Anglo-Saxon history. He would be knighted by William III in 1699, and succeeded to the estate at Narford in 1706. In 1725 he was appointed Vice-chamberlain to Caroline as Princess of Wales. This position was ratified in 1727, when she became Queen Consort. As has been

⁴⁶² Evelyn, John. *Diary* Edited Dobson. op cit. Vol. III. p.284

discussed earlier he was subsequently made one of the tutors to Prince William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland.

In 1701, Sir Andrew Fountaine accompanied Lord Macclesfield to Hanover to discuss the British succession and once this business was concluded he travelled on to Munich and then to Italy, where he met Cosimo III, Grand Duke of Tuscany in Florence. He began from this period to collect paintings, coins and statuary, and most notably Limoges enamels, Palissy, Henri Deux and Majolica ceramics. Lord Hervey described the collection to Frederick Prince of Wales as ‘the prettiest trinket I ever saw.’⁴⁶³ The collection was known to members of the royal family who hastened from St James’s Palace to try to salvage what they could when fire broke out at White’s Chocolate House in St James’s where it had been stored temporarily in April 1733. In the event many of Sir Andrew’s paintings were lost in the incident.⁴⁶⁴ The collection at this date was valued at over £3000.

Amongst the Queen’s female circle Charlotte Clayton, Lady Sundon, the Queen’s confidante and Mistress of the Robes shared many of the Queen’s interests. She knew and corresponded with the notable collectors, such as Dr Woodward and Dr Mead. Arguably the most notable woman to compile an encyclopedic collection in the eighteenth century - Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Portland, had not started on her project at the time of the Queen’s death.

⁴⁶³ Hervey, John, Baron. *Lord Hervey and his Friends* op cit. p.74

⁴⁶⁴ *The Gentleman’s Magazine* April 1733

It has not been possible to establish whether the Queen made visits to popular collections of curiosities as had been set up in London coffee houses such as Don Saltero's. However it is clear that Caroline knew enough about this form of popular culture to allow her to place a commission for her waxworks tableau for Merlin's Cave with Mrs Salmon who operated her successful spectacle from Aldersgate in London.

An examination of the inventories of Caroline's collection of curiosities reveals that it was an eclectic assemblage of items. Some were associated with magic and superstition; others originated from recent archaeological excavations, or illustrate aspects of contemporary scientific discovery. Just as with the Queen's three sculptured worthies programmes her *wunderkammer* serves to show her increasing engagement with the philosophy and scientific enquiry of the English Enlightenment.

The schedules of Queen Caroline's collection includes reference to one cabinet given over exclusively to the storage of bezoars, 'unicorns' horns, coral and ore. A bezoar is defined as 'a calculus or concretion found in the stomach or intestines of some animals, chiefly ruminants, formed of animal matter deposited around some foreign substance'. A concretion formed around vegetable matter was termed a *ptytobezoar* and one that formed round any other substance was a *trichobezoar*. As evidence of the irrationality of nature, these objects were accorded considerable value by the end of the sixteenth century.

As a young woman Caroline esteemed these items so highly that she would present them

as gifts to her friends. On 17th February 1715 Liselotte, wrote to the Raugravine Louise reporting that Lord Stair had just delivered 'a bezoar stone of Goa' which Caroline had sent her.⁴⁶⁵ Boxes made of amber as noted earlier or of gold were frequently sent as presents. In 1734 Lord Hervey wrote to his friend Henry Fox boasting that the Queen had recently presented him with 'the finest gold snuff box I ever saw, with all the arts and sciences of her own bespeaking carv'd on it'.⁴⁶⁶ Just a few months later the Queen gave him another gift; this time of an amber snuff box.⁴⁶⁷

The inventories include intriguing reference to 'unicorns horns'. The unicorn had for many centuries been the magical creature associated with the Virgin Mary and its horn had been attributed with apotropaic qualities. Cups made out of 'unicorn horn' were said to have the power to detect poison. A 'unicorn horn' displayed at Windsor Castle was valued in 1598 at £100,000. By the seventeenth century there was a growing awareness that the horns with their striking spiral fluting were in fact the tusks of the arctic narwhal, and their monetary value diminished. In 1617 there is reference in the British East India Company records that the merchants Thomas Kerridge, and Thomas Rastell based in Surat in India were unable to find a buyer for their 'unicorn'. The horn was still on the market in 1619, when Thomas Kerridge reported to William Nichols that it still formed part of the cargo on his ship 'The Gift'.⁴⁶⁸ However items associated with the 'unicorn' would remain some of the most highly prized rarities particularly in princely *wunderkammer* well into the eighteenth century.

⁴⁶⁵ Elisabeth Charlotte, Duchesse d'Orléans. *The Letters of Madame. The Correspondence of Elisabeth Charlotte of Bavaria, Princess Palatine, Duchess of Orléans. 1661-1708* Translated and edited by G.S. Stevenson. 3 vols. New York. Appleton. 1924. vol II. p.84

⁴⁶⁶ Hervey, *Lord Hervey and his Friends*. op cit. p.188

There were numerous novelties and virtuoso art works made of precious metals and ivory. The inventories contain many descriptions including of a 'branch of Red Corall on a silver foot', an 'agget Cup & cover set in silver gilt', a 'shell with Herelyflicks set in gold', several 'flaggons of ivory carved', 'two ivory cups & covers with bas reliefs' and 'a round ivory vase carved by Fiamingo'. Toys and lathe turned ivory novelties had been a feature of many *wunderkammer* since the sixteenth century. At Kensington Palace these sat alongside a small collection of examples of ore and stones in their unaltered state, as prescribed by Quiccheburg

By contrast one should note that in the list of the Queen's curiosities which the Royal Archives purchased from Francis Harper, Horace Walpole makes reference to 'three fair coins of English Kings before the Conquest, found at Cleeham in Rutlandshire'. The inclusion of these archaeological finds might reinforce the hypothesis that the Queen influenced by her architect and builder Henry Flitcroft and Andrews Jelfe, friends of the antiquarian and archaeologist William Stukeley, was becoming aware of the contemporary debate about the origins of the British nation.

The collecting of ethnography had been an important element in the creation of the Renaissance cabinet of curiosities. Caroline's collection of ethnographic material comprised a rather conservative group of weaponry probably of Middle Eastern and Indian origin. The items were costly productions; most were set with agate, crystal or

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid. p.199

⁴⁶⁸ *Calender of State Papers. Colonial Series East Indies, China and Japan 1617-1621* pp.17-18

jewels. The scimitar had a scabbard of blue velvet. However I would suggest that Caroline's small collection should be seen in a broader context as she sought to promote and celebrate English interests in the wider world.

Lord Egmont who took a great interest in the work of James Oglethorpe and the early North American colonization programmes in Carolina and Georgia, records in his diary many conversations initiated by the Queen concerning exploratory and trading missions. In the summer of 1735 the Queen was proud to wear a dress made of silk organzeen, the silk reeled by Piedmontese workers sent out to Georgia in an attempt to encourage an embryonic silk industry there. The thread was woven up at Sir Thomas Lombe's Mill in Derby.⁴⁶⁹ On the 1st August 1734, the Queen had the opportunity to gain a more immediate appreciation of North American culture with the arrival in London of Tomochahi, Chief of the Cherokee Indians, his wife Senauki and son Tooamokowli, together with their small retinue from Georgia. In the company of James Townsend, who had been appointed governor of Georgia and Carolina, they attended the King and Queen at Kensington Palace, presenting an eagle feather as their tribute.⁴⁷⁰ After a formal audience with the King and then the Queen, Dr Clarke records that the Queen called the Chief's young son back to her for further discussion and to give him presents. He was introduced to Prince William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland.⁴⁷¹

The Queen was also noted wearing Irish textiles which she had acquired through the

⁴⁶⁹ Egmont, John Perival. *Diary* op cit. Vol. II. p.191 : Georgia Historical Collections. Vol XX *Selected 18th Century Manuscripts* Edited by A.S.Bitt Jnr, and A.R. Dees. Savannah. 1980 pp.110-111

⁴⁷⁰ *Gentleman's Magazine* August 1734. pp.449-450

⁴⁷¹ Sundon, Viscountess. *Memoirs* op cit. Vol II. pp.264-265

auspices of Jonathan Swift. He joked that the Queen and her daughters had become the toast of the Irish weavers.⁴⁷²

The Queen owned many books concerned contemporary exploration. The titles included an Atlas of *Navigation and Commerce*, an illustrated *History of Japan, together with a Description of the Kingdom of Siam*, written in high Dutch by Engelbertus Kempfer and translated by J G Scheulzer, *The Natural History of Carolina, Florida & the Bahama Islands containing the figures of Birds, Fishes, Serpents, Insects & Plants with their descriptions in English and French* by Morder Catesby, *A New Voyage round the World. Describing particularly the Isthmus of America, Seven Coasts & Islands in the West Indies, the Isles of Cape Verde etc* by Capt.von Dampier and a *Voyage round the World by way of the Great South Sea performed in the years 1719, 20, 21, 22* by Capt.Geo.Shelveck. There is evidence from the handwritten library lending lists to prove that the books were read and that new publications such as *The Voyage to Buenos Aires* and *Voyage to the South Seas* were purchased. The Queen evidently enjoyed this subject so much that she chose similar titles to present as gifts. On March 6th 1727 the Queen 'a fait presentai secretaire Johnson des lines suivant The History of Japan. Two vol.'⁴⁷³

It is revealing that out of the many works she discovered in 1728, in a bureau within the King's closet, she extracted with the famous Holbein drawings 'A book with some Indian pictures'.⁴⁷⁴

⁴⁷² Swift, Jonathan. *Correspondence of Jonathan Swift* Edited by F. Elrington Ball. 6 vol. London. G. Bell and Sons Ltd. 1912-1913. Vol III. p.354, p.357, p.360, p.364 ,p.371, p.374 : Pope, Alexander. *The Works of Alexander Pope* Edited Croker. op cit. Vol VII. p.90

⁴⁷³ BL. C120.h.6 (6)

The Queen's interest in botany grew probably as she became more and more involved in garden projects. On 4th September 1736 she wrote to Sir Hans Sloane asking for help in identifying a small aquatic plant. Sloane would have been in a good position to offer such advice as he had acquired in 1702 the herborium of James Petiver which contained eight thousand specimens, drawn from as far away as South Africa, and he also owned Jeremiah Grew's seed bank. Sloane replied to the Queen giving her an identification and referring her to Pliny's *De Naturalis* for more explanation.⁴⁷⁵ (Appendix 9) The inventory of the Queen's library included numerous titles which reveal an interest in zoology and botany. Not only did she own a copy of Pliny's *De Naturalis* but there was *The Natural History of English Insects* by Eleazor Albin published in 1720 and *L'histoire de la Nature des Oyseaux avec leurs descriptions et Naifs Portraits. Retirez du Natural* by Pierre Belon du Mans published in 1555. The records of library book movements note that on the 7th December 1736, the Queen sent back to the library from Kensington *L'histoire Nouvelle des Animeaux* and *L'histoire des Plantes*. In the list of new acquisitions for the Library there appears a reference to Albin's work on butterflies, Heylin's book on cosmography and another *Histoire Natural de Pline*. George I's collection of 'civet cats and Tygers' housed in cages built at Kensington in 1727, were still in occupation in 1730. Bills for hay, oats, beans and straw for their use survive.⁴⁷⁶ Despite this evidence of the increasingly serious approach the Queen took to her botanical research, the collection of naturalia amassed at Kensington appears to have been collected principally as curiosities.

⁴⁷⁴ BL. Add Ms. 20101 f.28

⁴⁷⁵ BL. Sloane Ms. 1968 f.72

The collection of medals forms the greater part of Queen Caroline's *wunderkammer*. The collecting of coins and medals was advocated in early museological literature. While these were items which could be prized for their artistic merit they could also be gathered together in series and tables to celebrate a royal lineage. From the inventories of Caroline's collection it is hard to judge just how systematically hers was put together. Mrs Purcell did little more than count the medals contained in each drawer. There are few descriptions of individual pieces. On March 9th 1764, however Horace Walpole noticed that there was a series of Roman imperial silver medals arranged 'from Julius Caesar to the end of Marcus Aurelius' indicating that the Queen may have followed a collecting plan. In just this way Ferdinand II of the Tyrol had delighted in his hundred medals of cardinals in the late sixteenth century, and Peter the Great prized his collection of medals by Dacier depicting the succession of the French Kings.⁴⁷⁷ However when Vertue returned to pack up the collection the lock of the cabinet in which many other medals must have been stored was broken and he could not obtain access.

In the organisation of her own examples, the Queen may have consulted a series of reference works listed in her Library catalogue. There was *La Science des Medailles Antique et Moderne. Nouvelle edition avec quelques nouvelles Decouvertes faites dans cette Science* published in Amsterdam in 1717, *Tables of Ancient Coins, Weights and Measures, expounded and exemplified in several dissertations* by Dr Arbuthnot, and *Medailles du Cabinet du Roy* and *Suite de Medaillons du Cabinet du Roy* concerning the medal collection of the French Kings. The list of movements of the library books notes

⁴⁷⁶ TNA. T1/260. Sept-Dec. 1727 : TNA. T27/24 July 1730

⁴⁷⁷ Stahlin Storksburg, J von. *Original Anecdotes of Peter the Great* op cit. p.381

that the Queen had taken both books on the French collections and ‘un livre de medailles en latin’ to Kensington Palace in December 1736.

It is clear is that the Queen was aware of what she owned. It was with delight that she reported to the Raugavine Louise that the recent gift of a medal of Martin Luther meant that she now had copies in both gold and silver. Liselotte, who presented Caroline with medals, had her own collection which she discussed her aunt, the Electress Sophia of Hanover. In June 1709 she explained the organizational rational for her collection remarking ‘now I have a cabinet of gold coins, a suite of emperors from Julius Caesar to Heraclius with no gaps’.⁴⁷⁸

The Queen’s careful reassembling of the Stuart collection of gems, and possibly of the medal collection too, shows her concern to reinforce and celebrate links with her royal predecessors, especially those of the Tudor dynasty. This study has revealed importantly that far more items had survived from Charles I’s cabinet than has been previously supposed. Perhaps the patchy and unbalanced nature of Caroline’s *wunderkammer* resulted from the fact that the core was composed of items she had retrieved from traditional repositories, and she had little time to assemble additional material to provide a context and to fill gaps. Given the lauding of the Tudor and Stuart dynasties within the last sculptured worthies series, and in the picture closet, finding curiosities surviving from her predecessors must have delighted Caroline. Many of the sixteenth century cameos have been remounted in early eighteenth century, almost certainly by her, and the

⁴⁷⁸ Elisabeth Charlotte, Duchesse d’Orléans. *Letters of Lisalotte* Edited by Maria Kroll. London. Gollancz. 1970. p.133

effort and expense of this, together with the commissioning of the pseudo Tudor cameos, stands as another mark of her interest and respect.

As well as the remounting of the gems the Queen took care that items within the collection of curiosities were kept in good order, and were conserved when necessary. The cabinet makers Elizabeth Gumley and William Turing were paid £1.10 shillings for 'repairing and cleaning a carved stone figure of a dog with a new pedestal of fine wood to it' in 1727.⁴⁷⁹ This was evidently the 'shock dog' surviving from Henry VIII's cabinet. Gumley and Turing had also been paid 10 shillings for 'repairing 2 very fine ivory figures' in 1726.⁴⁸⁰ As noted earlier Benjamin Goodison had encountered the collection of rarities when he was asked in 1735 to supply and to repair glass cases made to protect artifacts in the Queen's collection including her amber cabinet and items belonging to the Duke of Cumberland.⁴⁸¹

The decision to draw so many disparate artifacts together into a *wunderkammer* in the early eighteenth century can probably be attributed to the Queen's German background. As a young woman as has been noted that she had been surrounded by some of the most eminent examples established within the German courts. These were not only of princely origin – indeed it was often the royal woman in Caroline's circle who had shown the greatest enthusiasm in their formation in line with late 17th century thinking that the encouragement and nurturing of the arts and industry was seen as a responsibility falling to the consort. The Electress Sophia, Caroline's grand-mother in law, her second cousin

⁴⁷⁹ TNA. LC9/287 f.150v

⁴⁸⁰ TNA. LC9/287 f.150v

Liselotte and her half sister the Countess Dorothea Friederike of Hanau-Lichtenberg all maintained cabinets of curiosity.⁴⁸² Curiosities were considered entirely appropriate gifts to exchange between family members as has been noted and Caroline received additions to her collection from Liselotte and other family connections.

Lord Hervey noted that despite the Queen's efforts to promote all things English he could discern traits in her character which remained very German - 'the German and the Queen so rooted in her mind – that the King himself had not more at heart all the trapping and pageantry of sovereignty than she the essential parts of it'.⁴⁸³ While the re-marshalling of material surviving from earlier royal cabinets may have allowed the Queen to follow her scholarly interests, it also meant she could compete with her relatives and engage in the international chatter about the collecting of curiosities. From a practical point of view there would be a repository for the royal gifts exchanged.

Within the English establishment, Caroline's project initiated in the second decade of the eighteenth century to create a *wunderkammer* still filled with traditional curiosities and with an underlying renaissance aspiration to represent all the realms of nature would have been regarded as a curiosity in itself, and it was very unlikely to have been envied or emulated. Items such as 'unicorns' horns, load stones and bezoars once so important a part, retained their prestige as part of the cabinet which had accumulated incrementally but as merchants records attest these were artifacts which had lost much of their former

⁴⁸¹ TNA. LC5/73 f.132 v. 'two new glasses to an amber cabinet for the Queen at Kensington 28 Sept. 1735

⁴⁸² Inventory of the Electress Sophia of Hanover, 1709. Marianburg Dep. 103 XXIV Nr. 2487 : Inventory of Dorothea Friederike of Hanau-Lichtenburg, St. A. Marburg Best. 81A. Regierung Hanau 45 Nr.8 cited in Löwenstein, Uta 'Apartment of the Countess Dorothea Friederike von Hanau-Lichtenberg' op cit

monetary value.⁴⁸⁴ Those with connections to colonization projects or involved in international trade, such as Sir Jeremy Sambrook, still maintained collections including ethnography but these tended to be drawn together on far more scientific principles. As has been noted courtiers such as Sir Robert Walpole, Sir Andrew Fountaine and Lord Burlington chose to make very significant but specific collections of paintings, sculpture, and in the case of Sir Andrew of ceramics. The son of Dr Hollings, who was physician to the Prince of Wales, when dining with Lord Egmont in October 1736, described archaeological finds he had just acquired for his collection. These had come from an excavation in Bishopsgate Street, and included a bronze statuette of Marcus Aurelius on horseback.⁴⁸⁵

I have been unable to find a single reference to any friend or courtier being allowed to visit the Queen's *wunderkammer*. As she kept this as the most private of her artistic programmes perhaps she realized her motives in its re-establishment might be misunderstood. Caroline had been largely self educated, and in the eclectic composition of the collection the Queen may have sought to explore her own theories about art, craft and science. It is also possible that for the Queen, with her knowledge of German collections compiled over many generations, her collection matched her experience and aspiration and she did not register that collections being compiled by her contemporaries were becoming increasingly scientific. The small spaces allocated to the *wunderkammer* would have contributed to its dramatic presentation. Should it also be seen as part of the

⁴⁸³ Hervey John, Baron Hervey. *Memoirs* op. cit. Vol. II. p.205

⁴⁸⁴ Sir Hans Sloane owned fifty-three bezoars at the time of his death, but this collection should be set against his large, significant and very well organised botanical collections.

⁴⁸⁵ Egmont, John Perival. *Diary* Vol. 1. p.303

Queen's private secret province within Kensington, her favoured palace.

Queen Caroline certainly followed princely tradition in involving her children in the *wunderkammer* programme. Prince William Augustus was supplied with a laboratory, built in the cellars at St James's Palace. There are several references to his 'model of the mines'.⁴⁸⁶ She decided her youngest son, Prince William Augustus should be taught ivory turning.⁴⁸⁷ It is entirely possible that his sisters were taught too as examples of lathe turning and gem stone working survive in collections made by Anne, Princess Royal in The Hague.⁴⁸⁸ In the Dutch Royal Collection twenty four amber knife handles survive of her workmanship, one of which is set in gold.

The Queen was unusual in encouraging her daughters to excel academically. Frederick the Great of Prussia on April 30th, 1740 acknowledged Princess Anne's skill as a craftswoman in sending her amber for her projects: 'Sachant que votre Altesse Royale se plaît quelque fois à s'amuser des ouvrages de l'ambre, je prens la liberté de lui envoyer quelques morceaux les meilleurs j'ai pu deterrer en Prusse'.⁴⁸⁹ Anne and her siblings interest was entirely in line with Quiccheberg's prescriptions. He recommended within his museological treat that a prince should learn to exercise his mastery of the natural world by learning skills by which natural material could be transformed. *Wunderkammer*, including the collection established in Dresden, even encompassed examples of the

⁴⁸⁶ TNA. LC9/166 f.19v. 'Benjamin Goodison. 1736. For a glass of the model of the mines and fixing it' : TNA. LC5/73 f.134v. 'A glass for the model of the mines at St James's'.

⁴⁸⁷ *The Gentleman's Magazine* Feb. 1731 p.79

⁴⁸⁸ Loonstra, Marten. *Uit Koninklijk Bezit. Honderd jaar Koninklijk Huisarchief de verzameling van de Oranges* Zwolle 1996 p.110 cited in Campbell Orr, Clarissa *Queenship in Britain* op cit. King, Richard R. 'Anne of Hanover and Orange' p.184.

⁴⁸⁹ Personal communication. Marten Loonstra. Koninklijk Huisarchief. The Hague

equipment needed for these processes. Amateur essays in ivory turning were undertaken by princes of many European houses most notably in Denmark, where a reel for yarn made by Christian IV is preserved in the royal collection.⁴⁹⁰ As discussed earlier Queen Caroline also had a printing press installed so that all the children could be taught this practical industrial process too.

On occasion the Queen presented her children with artifacts of the kind she had drawn together for her *wunderkammer*. The log of book movement records that a 'casete avec de l'argenterie et a Emaigne' was given to Princess Amelia, and that Prince William Augustus received a 'petite statue de Mercure de Bronze'.⁴⁹¹

None of the Queen's children however went on to make their own collection of curiosities. However even though this tradition was falling rapidly out of fashion it is interesting that Anne continued to practice her crafts skills in gem cutting following her marriage. In line with later fashions Frederick Prince of Wales went on to make important but specific collections of his own. His interests ranged from painting, sculpture and drawing to tapestries and miniatures. His sister Amelia purchased shells from Mr Castle of Marylebone in June 1740 but used these specifically to decorate the grotto in the important garden she laid out around her house at Gunnersbury.⁴⁹²

After the death of the Queen in 1737 it seems that the great part of the *wunderkammer*

⁴⁹⁰ Rosenborg 1.73

⁴⁹¹ BL. C120.h.6 (6) 'Delivre aussy le 12 d'Avril 1733 une casete avec de L'argenterie et a Emaigne qui a este donnée a la Princesse Amelie' : 's'ay deliver a un des valets de pieds de Monseigneur de Duc de Cumberland une petite statue de Bronze ou Bras Mercury. 17th Janvier, 1734'.

was preserved intact until the death of her husband George II in 1760. There were a few dispersals. Horace Walpole, writing to Mann in January 1784, records that his father, Sir Robert Walpole had been presented with a 'crystal hunting bottle with a gold stopper and cup' by George II on the Queen's death, as a memento of her.⁴⁹³ As has been noted a golden egg almost certainly part of the collection is now preserved in Amalienborg Palace in Copenhagen. Even though the information given in Mrs Purcell's inventory is sketchy and difficult to reconcile with certainty against Horace Walpole's lists made in the 1760's she almost certainly saw many more items.

Horace Walpole made his first inspection of the collection of curiosities on June 2nd 1763 when it was still accommodated in the north east pavilion at Kensington Palace. He returned on 9th March 1764 prior to the greater part of the collection being packed up and sent probably to the recently remodeled Buckingham House on March 22nd. In 1761 and 1762 William Vile of the cabinet makers Vile and Cobb, supplied cabinets to house one thousand six hundred medals for the young King George III. In 1766 and 1767 Vile was called back again to provide additional accommodation for one thousand three hundred and eighty five more. It is entirely possible that Queen Caroline's collection had been assimilated in one of these projects. Walpole notes however that not all the artifacts he listed left Kensington Palace immediately. Amongst the items which were not sent were a large collection of atlases, the book which described the King of France's medal cabinet, the collection of cameos and intaglios, some ivory figures, bronzes and the cabinet of medals with the broken lock.

⁴⁹² *Daily Post* June 20, 1740

⁴⁹³ Walpole. Horace, Earl of Orford. *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence* Edited by

On 28th May 1825 George III's collection of medals was acquired by the British Museum, and it is entirely probable that Queen Caroline's collection thus left the Royal Collection. The manuscript inventories of the collection by this date contained over fifteen thousand items. However amongst the group were many which Charles Combe its cataloguer considered to be false and of poor quality.⁴⁹⁴ It is revealing that in the descriptions of Caroline's items recorded by Horace Walpole also uses the terms 'which appear to me to be false', 'not many & some false' and 'very indifferent'.

Following the death of Queen Charlotte in 1818 the sale catalogues prepared by Christies in 1819 of her goods includes several familiar artifacts.⁴⁹⁵ Lot 25 on the first day of the sale comprised the 'small bust of Charles I carved in rock crystal. Unique and very fine' noted in both Mrs Purcell's inventory and Horace Walpole's lists. Mrs Purcell's 'crystal shell & triton set with jewells' appears as lot 26. (Appendix 10) The 'round ivory vase, carved with boys by Fiamingo' described by Walpole can be found at lot 79 on May 25th, the day following. It is hard to believe that lot 29, 'a small equestrian figure of the Emperor Charles V in silver, his armour silver gilt, on an ebony pedestal with festoons of silver chasing', lot 59, 'a broach in the shape of a carduceus of brilliants with the cameo head of William III in onyx in the centre', and lot 118, 'ten convex pieces of very old English carving in two black frames a portrait of Inigo Jones, and ditto of Pope carved in ivory,' are not survivals from collections made by earlier generations. (Appendix 11)

W.S. Lewis. 48 Vol. New Haven, Conn. London. Yale University Press. 1937-1983. Vol. XXIII. p.464

⁴⁹⁴ Combe, Charles *CATALOGUE of the Several Series of Modern Medals & Coins in HIS MAJESTY'S Collection (1771 revised 1814) and CATALOGUE of the Ancient Coins in HIS MAJESTY'S Collection (1814)*

It is still possible however to identify some of the items from Queen Caroline's collection in the lists prepared by Jutsham made between 1806 and 1816, recording goods moving between Buckingham Palace and Charlton House at the behest of George IV.⁴⁹⁶ It is intriguing to find that this flamboyant monarch, with his discerning eye seems to have picked out for the decoration of his apartments many of the items which Caroline may also have marshaled from the Stuart cabinet. The 'portrait of dog in stone in a laying posture scratching his ear, upon a rosewood plinth, under the plinth is burnt the Crown & initials GP' is easily identified as Henry VIII's 'shock dog'. Horace Walpole's 'The Emperor Maximilian & Mary of Burgundy; bas relief on stone' emerges too as 'a stone sculpted with the head of the Emperor Maximilian and on the reverse side the head of the Duchess of Burgundy. Each with Latin inscription. A metal frame gilt with a swivel top'.⁴⁹⁷ Jutsham's 'small jewel coffer made of agate' may be Mrs Purcell's 'one aggett trunk'.⁴⁹⁸ His 'small vase made of horn, mounted in silver with chimera handles. 4 unicorn feet & gilt cover' must be Horace Walpole's 'vase made of unicorns horn & supported by unicorns' found in his annotations to Bathoe.⁴⁹⁹ Both Mrs Purcell's 'Branch of Red Corall on a silver foot' and 'branch of white corell on a gilt pedestal' seem to have survived.⁵⁰⁰ Mrs Purcell's 'crystal cup and cover, a humming bird in it' is still present though the humming bird was now listed separately.⁵⁰¹ (Appendix 12)

⁴⁹⁵ *A Catalogue of a Superbe Assemblage of Jewels, Trinkets..... which will be sold by Mr Christie, May 17, 1819*

⁴⁹⁶ RA. Jutsham's receipts. F12/13. 16B

⁴⁹⁷ RA.Add.Ms.16 : RA. Jutsham's receipts. F12/13 p.121.no.7

⁴⁹⁸ RA. Jutsham's receipts. F12/13. p.123. no. 17

⁴⁹⁹ RA. Jutsham's receipts. F12/13. p.125. no. 29.

⁵⁰⁰ RA. Jutsham's receipts. F12/13. p. 125. no. 30 : no.31

⁵⁰¹ RA. Jutsham's receipts. F12/13. p. 125. no. 28 'A crimson colour vase carved in ovals & squares lined with gold and gold enamel cover & feet. 7 1/4 inches high ornamented with light blue beads. RA.12/13. p.

The fact that there is still a small group of weaponry, engraved and mounted shells and many cups and covers, made of precious metal, agate and crystal and a significant group of bezoars, described in 1820 as 'small stones, the one like a nut & the other resembling the private parts of a man. Query petrifications', suggests that a significant part of Queen Caroline's collection was still in existence. There are annotations made to Jephson's list indicating that the collection of weapons together with the 'shock dog' were sent to the Armoury.

There were to be further dispersals in 1830 when William IV sold to the jewellers Rundall and Bridge '52 antique rings set in iron' which once must have been part of the collection of 'one hundred & twenty one rings and sealls but with heads on different stones & 53 of them set in iron' described by Mrs Purcell.⁵⁰² Another item bought by Rundell Bridge and Co. was a box called 'Dean Swift's Snuff box'. Could this also be a survivor from Queen Caroline's collection?

In July 1837 an inventory was made of the strong room in Windsor Castle. It contained amongst other artifacts, 'a large onyx cameo of one of the Caesar's' which was no doubt the broken cameo of the Emperor Claudius.⁵⁰³ There is also an intriguing reference to five 'amber balls' in a mahogany cabinet. Could these be the remnants of the collection

127. 42. A broken hummingbird to be found in vase no.28.

⁵⁰² Inventory taken of sundry jewels etc at Windsor Castle 16 Sept 1830, and the following days by Messrs Bridge in the presence of Major General Wheatley, Major General Stephenson and Sir Frederick Watson. p.33.

⁵⁰³ Royal Collection. *An Inventory of Sundry Articles of Jewellery etc. belonging to Her Majesty in the Strong Closet in Windsor Castle taken July 1837 by Rundell Bridge & Co. Jeweller to Her Majesty* p. 7

of bezoars?⁵⁰⁴

But despite so many losses a significant number of the items from Queen Caroline's *wunderkammer* have survived to this day. Some of her gems, including those she marshaled from the Stuart cabinet, those with which she was presented and those which she may even have commissioned can still be seen by visitors to Windsor Castle. The list includes the 'Onex of the Adoration of the Kings' listed by Mrs Purcell, her 'Bust with a cap set with jewels, one out, the shoulders amethyst, the plate gold'. (Figures 123-124) A small bust of Hercules carved in agate mounted on a gilt metal socle, must be the 'Bust of Hercules in agate' described by Horace Walpole.⁵⁰⁵ (Figure 125) The Armoury includes weapons which may be those noted by Mrs Purcell.⁵⁰⁶ The collection of medals in the British Museum almost certainly contains items from Queen Caroline's collection.

Queen Caroline's *wunderkammer* is significant because it stands as a well documented example compiled at the very end of the cabinet of curiosities tradition. By the time the Queen died her project, even by European royal standards, was anachronistic and dated. However in putting together her collection the Queen remained faithful to many of the principles which had underpinned the great cabinets of the sixteenth and seventeenth century. It is startling to find that her children were still being taught ivory turning in the 1730's.

⁵⁰⁴ Ibid. p.7

⁵⁰⁵ RCIN 65740 : RA Geo. Add. Ms. 16

⁵⁰⁶ 'An ancient powder horn mounted in silver'. Armoury Catalogue 3008: 'An Indian dagger in a crimson velvet case. Armoury Catalogue 3006: A Malay dagger in a silver sheath. Armoury Catalogue 3007.

Queen Caroline's cabinet of curiosities hardly bears comparison with the great princely cabinets established by many other European monarchs. It was small with the artifacts crowded together in two modest rooms. The furniture in which the artifacts were stored and displayed was insignificant with the exception of the mahogany collectors' cabinet with its carved reliefs. Within this furniture the collection seems to have been randomly displayed and minimally classified. The collections made passing gesture to the representation of all the realms of nature. There was an uneasy mixture of curiosities traditionally associated with magic and superstition and those which demonstrated the Queen's increasing engagement with contemporary historical and scientific debate.

Perhaps Queen Caroline herself was aware of the shortcomings of the collection given that she kept her project very private. There seems no courtly comment about it, let alone any public debate. I am sure that the Queen who arrived from Hanover conditioned to think that the maintaining of a cabinet should fall to her responsibility, as an enthusiastic amateur historian enjoyed discovering items surviving from the Stuart cabinet. She then set about acquiring additional material of the kinds she was familiar with from her German experience to set these pieces in their traditional context.

Arguably the greatest contribution Queen's project made to the early eighteenth century royal collection was to bring together items which had survived from the Tudor and Stuart cabinets. As has been noted despite his own pessimistic reading of the Commonwealth dispersals a close reading of John Evelyn's comments indicate that many medals, gems and small scale statuary had been reserved from the sale of the effects of

Charles I, but the pieces drop from view towards the end of the seventeenth century. It is very interesting to have the four inventories of Queen Caroline's arrangements to help chronicle how this collection fared into the mid eighteenth century. These inventories enable the historian to construct the subsequent histories of a number of the items with ease.

CHAPTER 4

QUEEN CAROLINE AND HER LIBRARIES

In this chapter I will discuss the last of Queen Caroline's artistic and academic projects – a new library at St James's Palace. This would be the first royal library to be compiled on universal encyclopaedic principles, and it is possible that the Queen intended that it would also serve as a debating chamber for the intellectual circle she sought to encourage. It was in the library, in November 1737, that Queen Caroline was taken ill, and her death just a few days later has meant that this very significant initiative received little publicity, and without her presence to promote and nurture the scheme, it was lost to future historians.

It is revealing that the Queen's last intellectual and artistic project revolved around the construction of a library, the final component in the Renaissance 'Museon' tradition. In the 15th century, the advancement in learning had reinforced opinion within courtly as well as academic circles that having easy access to sources of information was an absolute prerequisite to the aspiring scholar. In the fulfilment of this, teachers as persons of learning, libraries as places of learning and books as the tools of learning all had their important part to play. Samuel Quiccheberg in *Inscriptiones vel Tituli* includes alongside the chapters covering the organisation of collections of art, science, technology and to represent the natural world, a discussion of the importance of establishing a library with the purpose of amassing information about every field of knowledge to complement these collections.⁵⁰⁷ In Francis Bacon's *Gesta Gestorum* of 1594 the library as an institution is discussed in great detail. 'First the collection of a most perfect and

⁵⁰⁷ Discussed in Schutz, Eva. 'Notes on the History of Collecting and of Museum' *Journal of the History of Collections* op cit. pp.205-218

general library, wherein, whosoever the wit of man hath committed to books of worth....may be made contributory to your wisdom'. Johann Daniel Major in *Kunst und Naturalien Kammern* gives the reading room within a museum establishment equal status to any other group of artefacts.

The acquisition of books as part of the princely collection was well established by the 15th century. Around 1456 Piero de Medici commissioned personalised illuminated copies of the works of Livy and Plutarch for his collection. He already owned richly decorated manuscripts of Josephus Suetonius as well as contemporary historians. Guests were invited into the purpose built library within his palace in Florence in exactly the same way as they might visit his cabinet of curiosities. When Federico de Montefeltro sought to establish a library in his palace in Urbino in the 1470's he paid scholars to ensure that the books he acquired were worthy and appropriate. It was important to him that the book collection should stand as evidence of his taste and his erudition as well as his wealth. While books were purchased for the beauty and opulence of their illustration and their bindings, others were acquired for their rarity value, and for their impressively serious content.⁵⁰⁸

As has been discussed earlier the incorporation of artefacts, or a sculptural programme into the library had its origins in classical antiquity. By the mid 17th century the library both as an architectural space and as a collection of artefacts was firmly established as part of the repertoire of artistic and intellectual endeavours undertaken by any person of noble birth or with noble pretensions. Should we see Queen Caroline's library at St James's Palace as the lynchpin in her 'Universal Museum' drawing together her artistic and intellectual projects? It would comprise a

⁵⁰⁸ Discussed in Jardine, L. *Worldly Goods* London. Macmillan. 1996. pp.183-198

collection of books, carefully arranged and classified, within a fine architectural space, decorated with a set of portrait busts in celebration of the Queen's royal pedigree. Was this the space Queen Caroline saw as venue for the contemporary artistic, theological and scientific debate she encouraged and enjoyed?

Caroline's peripatetic early years had brought her into contact with some of the greatest 'universal' libraries of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century. Her father John Frederick, Margrave of Brandenburg Ansbach was responsible for a significant enlargement of the library now surviving in the Ansbacher Schloss, collecting books consciously to cover all branches of knowledge. Surviving within the library are several books with book plates from Caroline's mother, John Frederick's second wife Eleonore Ermuthe Louise of Saxe Eisenach.⁵⁰⁹

The library of the Electors of Saxony had been established under Augustus I whose reign began in 1553. The first inventories of the collection of books were made in 1589 and show that it already exceeded 10,000 volumes and was housed within a purpose built structure. Gabriel Kaltemarckt, who advised Augustus I's successor, Christian I on his art collections, wrote in 1587 'Although all sovereignty involves next to God, good laws and weapons, eminent and highly intelligent sovereigns have always made a great effort to protect their subjects, not only through considerable military equipment, but also through good books and writings'. Christian I's books were classified by subject, which included astronomy, astrology, geometry, perspective, arithmetic, architecture, iconography, history, geography, philosophy, theology, poetry and the fine arts following the principles of Johann Daniel Major. As a child Caroline's

⁵⁰⁹ Schuhmann, Gunthe. 'Ansbacher Bibliotheken vom Mittelalter bis 1806' *Schriften des Instituts für Frankischen Landesforschung und der Universität Lössleben*. 1961 pp.90-96. p.92, p.96

access to the Saxon library might have been limited but it is revealing that her half sister, Dorothea Friederike of Hanau-Lichtenberg who shared some of Caroline's early experience owned at least 190 books when she died in 1731.⁵¹⁰

There can, however, be no doubt that the libraries established in the royal palaces in Berlin, where Caroline spent the years preceding her marriage would have made a meaningful impression. As ward of the Elector Frederick III she would not only have had access to his library but also that of his second wife, Sophie Charlotte. The Great Elector had established a library of more than 20,000 volumes and 11,600 manuscripts in Berlin, which he decreed in 1661 should be made available to the public. Frederick III, who had succeeded the Great Elector in 1688 initiated a plan for a new building in which the library would be housed, and appointed as its custodians some of the most distinguished librarians of his day. Johann Casimir Kolbe, Graf von Wartenburg (1643-1712) was employed in 1689, and 1705-7, Ezekiel Freiherr von Spanheim (1629-1710) from 1689-1697, and Otto Freiherr, later Graf von Schwerin (1645-1705) from 1697-1705. Lorenz Berger and Matheron Veyssiere de la Croze also provided their advice. Expenditure on the collection was regular and substantial. In 1696, Frederick spent 1017 thalers, and in 1711, 1470 thalers purchasing books not only in Berlin but in many other European capitals. Sophie Charlotte's court rivalled that of her husband in the promotion of intellectual debate and artistic patronage. Leibnitz and de la Croze fell within her particular orbit.

Sophie Charlotte followed her mother, Sophia of Hanover, in her love of books. The Hofbibliothek, the royal library in Hanover had been established in the Leineschloss by Johann Friedrich, Duke of Hanover (1652-1679) in 1665. Leibnitz, who was appointed its librarian, was

⁵¹⁰ Löwenstein, Uta. 'Apartment of the Countess Dorothea Friederike von Hanau-Lichtenberg' op cit.

commissioned to undertake genealogical research into the history of the house of Brunswick-Lüneburg. Through research in the archives in Modena he sought to establish a common ancestry for the House of Guelph and the House of D'Este, and subsequently by highlighting the union between the Guelph, Henry the Lion, and Matilda, the daughter of Henry II of England to link the House of Guelph with the British Plantagenets. By this work he was instrumental in ensuring the elevation of the family of Brunswick Lüneburg to Electoral status in 1693.⁵¹¹ In 1720, under George I, the library transferred to a new building and was relaunched as the Königliche Öffentliche Bibliothek. His private collection of books was incorporated into this library in two tranches, the first in 1718, the second in 1729.⁵¹²

The royal library in England had been founded by Edward IV and contained thousands of books and manuscripts. It would receive its greatest boost in October 1609, when Henry, Prince of Wales acquired the library of his tutor, John Lord Lumley (?1534-1609) an enthusiastic founder member of the Royal Society of Antiquaries. The collection amounted to two thousand eight hundred volumes, and constituted one of the greatest libraries of the Elizabethan age. The subjects represented included theology, history, art, philosophy, medicine, cosmology, geography, civil and canon law, and music. There were a significant number of science books and many concerning royal genealogy. The royal library operated as a copyright library from 1662, which further swelled its holdings. It was neglected however during the Commonwealth, and when Dr Richard Mead was appointed librarian to William III he was dismayed to find it in indifferent order. With the support of Mary II he put forward a proposal in 1694 that it should be

⁵¹¹ Fara, P. *Pandora's Breeches. Women, Science and Power in the Enlightenment* London. Pimlico. 2004. pp.74-88

⁵¹² Sloane, Kim.. 'The Universal Museum' in Sloane, Kim. Ed. *Enlightenment. Discovering the World in the Eighteenth Century* London. The British Museum Press. 2005. pp.10-58

developed as a national library, to be housed at St James's Palace, which should be backed by a parliamentary subsidy.⁵¹³ The death of Queen Mary in 1694 and the upheaval in royal accommodation following the destruction by fire of Whitehall Palace in 1698, put paid to all these ambitious plans.

By the early eighteenth century, the majority of the books of the Royal Library had been moved to Cotton House to join the collection of manuscripts compiled by Sir Robert Cotton which had been acquired by the government in 1707.⁵¹⁴ The collection was subsequently divided up and stored in a variety of locations, including Westminster School, from 1712, Essex House and Ashburnham House from 1730. The fire which broke out at Ashburnham in 1731 destroyed a significant part of the collection. In 1754 George II donated the entire Royal Library to the British Museum.

William III and Mary II had however allocated rooms in their new home, Kensington House, later Kensington Palace to their personal collections of books. John Evelyn had opportunity in 1693 to visit the Queen's book room, arranged on the Garden floor of the house beneath her gallery, and returned to view William's arrangements in 1699. He records that Mary owned books in French and Dutch as well as in English which accords with Bishop Burnet's comment made in his sermon on the Queen's death that she spoke and wrote easily in these languages.⁵¹⁵ It is evident that William treasured his books and commissioned cases and presses for both books

⁵¹³ London. *A Proposal for Building a Royal Library and establishing it by Act of Parliament* Richard Bentley. London. 1697

⁵¹⁴ Act of 12 Will III discussed in Sloan, Kim ed. *Enlightenment*. Op cit. pp.38-45

⁵¹⁵ Evelyn, John. *Diary* Edited Dobson. op cit. Vol. III. p.303: Burnet, Bishop of Sarum. *An Essay on the memory of the late Queen* London. 1695. p.38

and prints from Grinling Gibbons.⁵¹⁶ His library had elegant green silk velvet upholstered furniture, looking glasses provided by Gerrit Jensen, and a distinguished picture hang.⁵¹⁷ When travelling, elaborate arrangements were made regularly to pack up crates of books to accompany him.⁵¹⁸ William also maintained a large book collection at Het Loo, one of his principal residences in The Netherlands.

Queen Anne continued to maintain a small library at Kensington Palace, within the room furnished by William III.⁵¹⁹ It was George I who gave instructions that this collection be moved to slightly more distinguished accommodation on the first floor of the north east pavilion in about 1718. The presses commissioned by William were taken down and re-erected in the new location at the cost of £40.⁵²⁰ George I however spent limited time at Kensington Palace; in the thirteen years of his reign he spent less than twenty four months in the Palace, the time spread over five visits made in 1718, 1721, 1722, 1724 and 1728. Repairs were undertaken to some of the furnishings in 1721 and 1725 but generally very limited improvements were made to the accommodation. A few books were evidently stored elsewhere. As we have noted elsewhere within a cabinet in the King's Closet a collection of books, engravings, drawings and other treasures had been secreted away and would not be 're-discovered' until about 1727, when Queen Caroline had her first clear remit to explore. Eventually George I did assemble an impressive book collection which was lodged in a variety of locations over the years. It amounted to about two thousand five hundred volumes which he chose to present to the

⁵¹⁶ TNA. Works 5/50 f.384v

⁵¹⁷ TNA. LC9/377 f.1, f.74, f.55, f.49 : BL Add Ms 20013 ff.1-13. A List of the Pictures at Kensington House.: TNA. LC9/280 f.236: TNA. LC11/5 f.178 no.52: TNA LC9/282 f.214, f.278, f.229: TNA. LC9/380 No.45

⁵¹⁸ TNA. AO/2493/403

⁵¹⁹ TNA. LC9/282 f.148, f.137, f.140, f.162

⁵²⁰ TNA. Works 6/7 p.152: TNA. T54/25 p.407: TNA. AO1/2450/154

Königliche Öffentliche Bibliothek in Hanover. His first gift in 1718 was followed by a second managed by his son, George II in 1729. In Great Britain, George I's appreciation of the value of the library as an agent for academic advancement led to in 1713 to his gift of thirty thousand books from the library of the Bishop of Ely to the University of Cambridge. He later made a grant of £2000 to the university for the building of a new library.

George II likewise maintained his principal library in Hanover. Between 1729 and 1760 over three thousand volumes were lodged within the Königliche Öffentliche Bibliothek. However, as Horace Walpole explained, to 'truly disculpate the King from the charge of neglecting literature' he maintained his father's link with Cambridge University library.⁵²¹

Caroline on her arrival in London in 1714 does not seem to have shown any great interest in the old Royal Library, or to have had a great opinion of its librarian Dr Richard Bentley. With the books largely stored outside the royal residences it may be that her knowledge of it was limited. She did however enjoy engineering lively discussions between Bentley and her favourite Dr Samuel Clarke, on literary and theological subjects.⁵²² She will have been aware of the Hanoverian family library, and the smaller collections of books remaining at Kensington Palace and St James's made by her immediate royal predecessors. However it is evident that as Queen Consort she felt there was a need and scope for the creation of a new library. Was this the project which would complete her considerable programme of artistic as well as literary patronage?

⁵²¹ Walpole. *Memoirs*. Edited Croker. op cit. Vol. III. p.304

⁵²² Kipps, Andrew and Towers, Joseph. Ed. *Bibliographia Britannica, or The Lives of the Most Eminent Persons who have Flourished in Great Britain and Ireland from the Middle Ages to the Present Times*. Second edition 5 vols. London. W+A Stracham et al. 1778-1793. Vol II. 1780. p.243

One of Queen Caroline's first considerations would have been to settle a venue for her project. From a practical point of view the Royal Family spent the greater part of the year at St James's Palace. In the years when the King remained in Britain, the Royal Family generally spent their summers either at Hampton Court Palace or Windsor. Throughout the reign there would be short but regular sojourns at Kensington and in the four years when Caroline was left as regent when George II left for Hanover in early May she moved there immediately with her family remaining until the King's return in late October. It was evidently the palace which she saw as her particular province and where she was most comfortable. It was at Kensington that she realised the majority of her projects – it served as a secret theatre for her cultural aspiration and ambitions. As has been discussed earlier, Richmond Lodge was used regularly by the Queen as her informal retreat. During the early years of the reign a new library wing was built on the north side of the lodge. (Figure 126) However the library lending lists show the frustrations of not having all books in the most frequented of all the royal homes. The Queen's choice to realise her great library project at St James's immediately differentiates it from her other initiatives. St James's was the official administrative centre for the monarchy. It was a public building at the heart of the political and social world. By association the library might also be seen as an extension of this public space. Did she feel this would give it a gravitas and dignity as well as accessibility? This could also be seen as an audacious move, evidence of the Queen's confidence, even pride in the regard in which she was held by her husband and in her interaction with the court and wider political, social and commercial circles.

The early years of the new reign showed limited activity within the existing book collections at St James's Palace. New book cases were constructed in May 1729.⁵²³ In 1733 and 1734 Benjamin Goodison and Henry Williams made new presses for music books, and others with sliding shelves to house folios, and they also reconditioned old book cases.⁵²⁴ The collection of books lodged at Richmond was discussed by Dr Alured Clarke in his correspondence with Mrs Clayton. It was used to furnish the Queen's new library projects at Kew which will be discussed later.

At Kensington Palace one becomes aware by 1732 that the Queen was consciously drawing together a collection of books. According to Horace Walpole's annotations to his copy of Bathoe's *A catalogue of the Principal Pictures, Statues etc* surviving in the Surveyor's Office of the Royal Collection, Queen Caroline 'fitted up' a 'little library'. This appears to have been within the suite of rooms within the north east pavilion of the palace, one of which had been used by George I as a library. It was in this pavilion that Queen Caroline housed her *wunderkammer*, and it is immediately apparent from an examination of the Surveyor's and Horace Walpole's listings of the collection of curiosities that the books lodged here had been assembled or acquired for their rarity value. Horace Walpole's list includes the reference 'in an adjacent chamber are more books', which included 'several books that had belonged to Charles I, a fine genealogical book on vellum of all the pedigrees of the King's of England, with their portraits and arms illustrated, drawn I think for Queen Elizabeth'. There was a 'curious little book of manuscript by Esther Inglis, 1613, and dedicated to King Charles I when Prince. This was famous for the

⁵²³ TNA. LS5/73 46r 7 May 1729

⁵²⁴ TNA. LC9/164 27v: TNA. LC9/165 22v, '1735 - for a large walnuttree bookcase with glass doors. New glass doors for four old bookcases and for altering the presses and adding new brass locks for Her Majesty's Library there' : TNA. LC9/165 24v, 'A wainscot press for books with sliding shelves made in two parts and brass locks and hinges'.

smallness and neatness of the writing’⁵²⁵ The Surveyors’s catalogues of both c1732 and c1750 note that in a room called the library the portrait of Sir Robert Boyle hung over the chimney, and in an adjacent ‘bookstore’ there was a flower-piece by Varzoon.⁵²⁶

It is tempting think that the large collection of atlases and folios of prints and drawings may have been the residue of the Queen’s great discovery in the King’s Closet in 1727. Evidently the three volumes of engravings by Wenceslas Hollar which appear in the original listing, delivered ‘to Her Majesty in 1735, and by her lent to Lady Burlington’ had been later ‘laid in the library at Kensington’.⁵²⁷

There is a book case now in use at Clarence House, carefully numbered 18, which dates without doubt to the second quarter of the 18th century, in a style is very close to work by Benjamin Goodison.⁵²⁸ The book shelves are arranged behind a pair of glazed doors and have a pair of cupboards arranged beneath. (Figure 127) The numbering presupposes the existence of at least another seventeen book cases. Could it be that these book cases were once used within the ‘book store’ at Kensington Palace. It is also possible the bookcase was made for housing the book collection at Richmond Lodge.

Queen Caroline’s third library project involved the establishment of collections of books within the Hermitage and Merlin’s Cave, her rustic retreats built at Kew between 1731 and 1735. In the

⁵²⁵ The Royal Collection. Surveyor’s Office. Bathoe, W. *A Catalogue of the Collection of the Pictures etc belonging to King James the Second. To which is added a Catalogue of the Pictures and Drawings in the Closet of the Late Queen Caroline*. London 1758. Copy owned by Horace Walpole with his annotations.

⁵²⁶ Lowman, Henry. *A Catalogue of the Pictures which are in the Publick and Private Lodgings of the Palace at Kensington*. 1732: *The Collection of paintings etc at Kensington, Hampton Court and in the Castle of Windsor*. 1750. With handwritten annotations by George Vertue

⁵²⁷ BL Add Ms 20101 f.28

⁵²⁸ Royal Collection. RCIN 83355

Hermitage the central octagonal room contained within niches the sculptural programme discussed earlier in celebration of contemporary scientists, theologians and philosophers, was flanked to the left and right by small square rooms each lit with a lantern set into the ceiling. The right hand room was provided with an elaborate canopied bed, the room on the left hand side was fitted up as a library, the book cases topped with sculpted busts.⁵²⁹ (Figure 2) The project was largely funded from the Queen's private monies. She contributed over £2028, and added £155.2s.6d for books from her Privy Purse.

Within Merlin's Cave, a thatched cottage in the gothic style, built for the Queen in 1735, the large central room containing a collection of waxworks, was flanked to the left and right with two octagonal rooms both furnished with book cases which are illustrated in J Vardy's *Some Designs of Mr Inigo Jones and Mr William Kent* published in 1744. (Figure 9) By July 1736 the building work was complete and the cottage furnished as there is a note that a collection of books had been amassed and had been taken to Kew by John Jackson to fill the new bookcases.⁵³⁰

As has been discussed earlier the Queen employed Stephen Duck, the 'Thresher Poet' as her resident hermit or 'Cave Keeper'. It is a matter of debate whether the Queen put together her collections of books for the Kew pavilions with Stephen Duck specifically in mind or whether she simply considered the selection of authors appropriate for the furnishing of pantheons of this kind. All the books were provided with uniform white vellum bindings, the titles handwritten on the spines, 'in the neat plainness of Quakerism' indicating that there was important aesthetic

⁵²⁹ The interior of the Hermitage showing the arrangements made for the library are recorded in Adams Volume 56. f.25, f.33 and f.34 in Sir John Soane's Museum, Adam Volume in the RIBA, f.11, f.12, and in a design by William Kent published as plate 33 in Vardy, J. *Some Designs of Mr Inigo Jones and Mr William Kent* London. 1744

⁵³⁰ BL.C120.h6 (6)

consideration.⁵³¹ However, there is no doubt that the Queen was especially assiduous in her support of Duck and his family. She seems to have rejoiced in his 'native genius' and saw him as an intriguing interpreter and custodian for her pantheons with their complex messages, celebrating not only her royal pedigree but also her contemporary heroes. I believe that there is sufficient evidence to show that the Queen felt a responsibility to foster, and even to nurture and mould Duck's talents.⁵³²

The Reverend Alured Clarke and Mrs Clayton, Duck's other great promoters at Court, debated at some length what sort of publications they felt appropriate for the Kew libraries with Duck very much in mind. On September 19th 1730, Dr Clarke wrote 'I have had the Thresher with me all this week....I have taken the liberty of advising him to qualify himself in the first place for this business, and as he has the advantage of a good understanding to make himself acquainted with the theory by reading such books upon the subject as shall be recommended to him....I think he ought to have Chambers Dictionary, Danet's Dictionary of Antiquities and Bailey's Etymological Dictionary or books of that sort always by him.....I hope neither Swift, not Montaigne, nor South nor the works in the Dunciad controversy will fall into his hands'. A few days later Dr Clarke suggests to Mrs Clayton 'as to Shakespeare, one would not confine him to three volumes.....I cannot meet with any satisfaction about a translation of Homer, and therefore I believe he must read Mr Pope's.....' Dr Clarke suggests to Mrs Clayton that if she could

⁵³¹ Curll, E. *The Rarities of Richmond*, op cit. p.80

⁵³² 'Her Majesty has ordered also a choice collection of English books to be placed therein, and appointed Mr Stephen Duck to be cave and library keeper and his wife necessary woman there....' *Gentleman's Magazine* Vol V. August 1735. p.19

arrange access for him to the Queen's book collection at Richmond that he would be able to easily put together a useful selection.⁵³³

The eventual collection as recorded in the library movement lists surviving in the British Library was however much broader, perhaps indicating that other individuals, and probably the Queen also made their own suggestions about the contents.⁵³⁴ The libraries contained both Swift and Pope miscellanies, as well as Pope's editions of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. However it is revealing of the inspiration behind the establishment of the Kew libraries was that there were copies of the work of others amongst the Queen's protégé's, such as Dr Samuel Clarke and Theophilus Cibber, and from her heroes Locke and Wollaston. It is particularly interesting to note that there were copies of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, Lord Shaftesbury's letters and Duncan Campbell's *Predictions*, all of which had informed the iconography of Merlin's Cave.⁵³⁵ Should we see this collection of books as an extension of the Queen's worthies programmes at Kew, serving as another medium of interpretation of their complex messages? (Appendix 13)

We have already discussed the critical reception accorded to the Queen's worthies series arranged in Merlin's Cave. Popular ridicule extended too to the library that the Queen had established there. *Fog's Weekly Journal* on 6th December 1735 noted 'The Reader having doubtless heard of a library provided for Merlin will be curious to know what authors it consists. It is not composed (as might be expected) of the works of the AEgyptian Kermes, Zorocaster, Xamolxis or Simon Magus which are now lost, much less of Albertus Magus, Cornelius

⁵³³ Sundon, Viscountess. *Memoirs* op cit. Vol. I. pp.189-191. The Rev Alured Clarke to Mrs Clayton Sept 19 1730

⁵³⁴ BL C120 h.6 (6)

⁵³⁵ Ibid. f.6, f.8, f.16, f.17

Agrippa, Basilius Valentinus and Raymond Lully which were not then written, but of the Spectator, the Divine works of Dr Clarke.....’

Queen Caroline’s great and final library project, the new library at St James’s Palace, was not initiated until about 1736. It was at this time that the Queen offered to clear rooms within the Palace of the books she had stored there, in order that a new apartment could be furnished for the King’s latest mistress, Amalia Sophie von Wallmoden.⁵³⁶ Francis Say, a new librarian was appointed in March 1737, at a salary of £100 per annum.⁵³⁷ He had been secretary to Thomas Green, Bishop of Ely, and his two immediate predecessors William Fleetwood, and John Moore. It had been his responsibility to pack up Moore’s library when this had been purchased by George I and then presented to Cambridge University. Moore had belonged to the network of men including Samuel Clarke and William Whiston, whom the Queen admired and whose company she enjoyed. Clarke had also compiled an inventory of Moore’s library, and it is likely to have been through this connection that the Queen encountered Say. Say was given a deputy, John Hamilton, who was paid £40 annually.

The library building was constructed between 1736 and 1737 on the west side of St James’s Palace where the Office of Works had its yard.⁵³⁸ It was a single storey building, sixty feet long and thirty wide. There is no record of its exterior elevation, but designs by William Kent survive for its interior arrangements in the collections of Sir John Soane’s Museum.⁵³⁹ Initially Kent seems to have envisioned the room, decorated after the Palladian manner, with a giant order and

⁵³⁶ Hervey, John Baron. *Memoirs* Edited Croker. Vol. II. pp. 355-357

⁵³⁷ *Gentleman’s Magazine* November 7. 1737. p.189

⁵³⁸ TNA. Works 1/1 p.44

⁵³⁹ Sir John Soane’s Museum vol 147/192-198

cross vaulted ceiling based on Roman bath design. The bookcases projected out of the walls at right angles, each with a niche for a bust set into the end.⁵⁴⁰ The remaining drawings in Sir John Soane's Museum collection show alternative plans and various worked up details. Vol 147/194, an alternative design, is drawn by an unknown draughtsman in grey and brown wash. It provides a detailed plan of the first of the book alcoves, an elevation, the entrance apse and a sectional elevation of the window wall looking onto the park. Vol.147/196 is an enlarged plan and section of the entrance bay. Vol.147/198 is another alternative plan for the library with windows arranged down both sides of the room, and having bookcases projecting into the room at right angles to the walls. Vol.147/195 is a partial plan for the ceiling with some of the plasterwork details worked up. Vol.147/193 is an elevation of the window wall of the library and is a close variant of the plan Vol.147/198 but with sketchy details added for a scheme for the ceiling. Vol. 147/192 is an enlarged plan and section of the fireplace and its flanking bookcases for one end of the library. In the catalogue *William Kent 1685-1748: A Poet on Paper* by John Harris which accompanied an exhibition in Sir John Soane's Museum in 1998, the author identified an engraving in a private collection, captioned 'Her Majesty's Library in St James's Park....Finished Octr 29th 1737/Designed by W Kent....Gulielmus Kent Archit:et Pict. Invenit et Delin....P Fourdrinier Sculpt' It shows the fireplace at the end of the library flanked with bookcases arranged in arched recesses under a richly carved cornice and deep coved ceiling ornamented with scrolling foliage, enclosing cartouches containing painted royal portraits.⁵⁴¹

(Figures 11-17)

⁵⁴⁰ Sir John Soane's Museum vol 147/197. Design in pencil, pen and ink with a sepia wash

⁵⁴¹ Harris, J. *William Kent: A Poet on Paper* London. The Sloane Gallery. 1998. p.23

The final scheme in fact had twenty one bookcases arranged along one long wall within arched recesses. The wall opposite had windows overlooking Green Park set within arched reveals. Brackets to support portrait busts were placed high between each pair of arches. Bookcases were built into recesses flanking the chimneypiece at one end of the room; two entrance doors flanked the fireplace at the other end to balance. The ceiling with a deep cove was divided into three fields. The central field contained an elaborately carved cartouche. The room had a large and elaborately carved cornice.

There are two illustrations which show the library in use. Both date from the early nineteenth century. The first, a watercolour by Charles Wild was made in 1819 shows that in addition to the bookcases projecting from the walls, there were now simple presses placed between each of the window bays and large tables and plan chests placed down the centre of the room. (Figure 19) These are likely to be much later additions. As Sir Hugh Roberts notes, bookcases were taken from Queen Caroline's library, 'adapted with many additions' and installed in 1764 in William Chambers 'Great Library' for George III in the new southern extension of Buckingham Palace.⁵⁴² The second drawing preserved in the City of Westminster Library and Archive shows the room cleared of all but a few chairs in the distinctive style of the early 19th century furniture designer, Thomas Hope. (Figure 18) In both the illustrations Queen Caroline's last set of sculpted worthies can be seen still placed on their brackets set up high between each of the arched recesses.

⁵⁴² Roberts, Sir Hugh. 'Metemorphosis in Wood: Royal Library Furniture in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries' *Apollo* June 1990. p.383

Queen Caroline's last worthies programme was made to embellish her library at St James's. The series of sculpted busts was commissioned from Michael Rysbrack in about June 1735 and represented members of the British royal line selected by the Queen for their particular contribution to the construct of British liberty and British identity.⁵⁴³ It is possible that at the date of the commission the final destination for the works had not been settled. The project moreover was never to be completed. After the Queen's death in November 1737, George II requested that 'Mr Risbrack's' bill be passed for 'the bustoes in the Queen's Library at St James's and ordered that he be writ to to send to the Office (there to be kept) the models of the faces he made for working after'.⁵⁴⁴ The busts installed were evidently these terracotta modellos, three of which survive in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle. (Figures 25-35) The details of this project and its iconography has been discussed elsewhere. Over the chimneypieces in the nineteenth century watercolour and drawing marble busts of George II and Queen Caroline are shown. The terracotta versions of these were completed by Rysbrack in 1738 and 1739 respectively with the marbles following in 1742, so they will undoubtedly have been installed at a later date. (Figures 128-131) The other busts illustrated will also be later additions.

The building cost the Queen £1618. 0. 8 ½ ..The works were supervised by Andrews Jelfe, Thomas Churchill and Richard Laurence who had worked together earlier on the construction of the Hermitage and Merlin's Cave.⁵⁴⁵

⁵⁴³ *Gentleman's Magazine* June 1735. p.133

⁵⁴⁴ TNA. Works 4/7 11 Jan 1737-1738: TNA. Works 1/2 p.7. 'I am ordered by the Surveyor General and the rest of the commissioners of the Board of Works to acquaint you that they will allow you the price you charged them for the bustoes in the Queen's library but expects you will send them to the office (there to be lodged) the modellos of the faces you made for working after. 23 Jan 1737-1738'

⁵⁴⁵ TNA. Works 5/59 July 1736-Sept 1737 : TNA. Works 5/105 Debt Book 1730-1768 Vol. 2

Benjamin Goodison was in great part responsible for supplying the bookcases made of mahogany with doors of brass mesh.⁵⁴⁶ Couches were covered with green mohair and trimmed with silver lace supplied by Sarah Gilbert, Matthew Vernon and William Weekes.⁵⁴⁷ There was also a walnut writing table and nightchairs.⁵⁴⁸ Light came from brass and glass with gilt wood sconces.⁵⁴⁹ The final stages of the fitting out seem to have been disorganised, with the Queen anxious to push matters along. In October 1737 Lord Hervey wrote angrily to Henry Fox 'Neglecter of His Majesty's Works' to complain 'which of all the devils in Hell prompted you to tell the Queen that everything in the library was ready for the putting up of her books? Thou abominable new broom that so far from sweeping clean, hast not removed one grain of Dirt and Rubbish'.⁵⁵⁰ The final works completed a short time later it was whilst in her library on 9th November that the Queen was taken ill. She died a few days later.⁵⁵¹ What is evident is that there were plans for the space to be fitted out comfortably. There was upholstered seat furniture and tables for use by visitors.

As well as the Queen's new library a small library remained within St James's Palace itself, which appears to have housed books owned by the King. It seems to have survived well into the reign of George III. In 1783 Horace Walpole noted that it comprised 'very large chambers besides a low gallery above stairs in which his (King George III's) collection of drawings are kept and which are very numerous' and that there were 'many fine pictures'.⁵⁵²

⁵⁴⁶ TNA. LC9/167 f.28v, f.31v

⁵⁴⁷ TNA.LC9/167 f.16v : TNA.LC9/289 f.128v, f.1430v

⁵⁴⁸ TNA. LC5/73 f.165v

⁵⁴⁹ TNA. LC9/289 f.160v

⁵⁵⁰ BL Add Ms. 51396 f.185

⁵⁵¹ *Gentleman's Magazine* November 1737 p.8: Hervey, John Baron. *Memoirs* Edited Croker. op cit. Vol III. p.294

⁵⁵² Walpole Society *Horace Walpole's Journals of Visits to Country Seats* op cit.. p.79

Five manuscript catalogues survive of Queen Caroline's books, dating from 1722 to about 1760. The earliest, BL King's 308, entitled *Catalogue of All the English Plays in Her Royal Highness Library*' has additions made in 1729.⁵⁵³ BL Add Ms 11511 *A Catalogue of the Royal Library of Her Majesty Queen Caroline, Distributed into Faculties* relates to the library at St James's and dates from 1741. Within the Royal Library at Windsor Castle RL1028932a comprises *A Catalogue of the Royal Library of Her Late Majesty Queen Caroline distributed into Faculties* dates from 1743 covers the same ground but with annotations made as late as 1760. All three inventories have been drawn up by professional scribes. Within the gathering of papers in the British Library which comprises BL.C.120.h.6, which detail the movement of books between various royal residences and record the purchase of books, the sections numbered (6) and (7) appear to be incomplete drafts of the catalogues listed above.

By 1722, when the first list of books is made it is evident that Caroline had already amassed hundreds of plays dating from the 16th to the 18th century. The inventory made of her book collection in 1741, shortly after her death show that the number had grown to nearly 3000 titles. Almost half the books related to historical subjects and were divided into categories including classical history, ecclesiastical history, and the history of individual European countries, and of the continents of Africa, America and Asia. The next largest subjects were divinity, plays, novels and poetry. There were smaller sections of books on philosophy, music, medicine, art and architecture.

⁵⁵³ Caroline's early interest in the theatre is further demonstrated by her decision in August 1719 to invite the actor manager Penkethman to build a theatre at Richmond. Caroline's Privy Purse accounts show regular and substantial payments made to theatrical entrepreneurs including Theophilus Cibber, Robert Wilkes and John Rich.

Most of the books were written in French, the language in which the Queen seems to have found easiest for both conversation and in which she usually wrote. Almost as many were in English which the Queen spoke fluently. While in Hanover, Caroline had already begun to work on establishing a better Anglo-Hanoverian rapport. She took every opportunity of acting as a hostess to visiting English diplomats such as the Duke of Marlborough, James Craggs the Younger, Lord Dorset and Edward Hyde, the Earl of Clarendon, who visited with his secretary John Gay. She took daily lessons to master conversational English.⁵⁵⁴ There are smaller collections in Italian, German and Latin and one or two titles in Spanish and Dutch. Caroline evidently had difficulty reading Latin. She had occasion to ask her physician Dr John Friend for a translation of his Latin dedication to Sir Isaac Newton which prefaced his book *Protectiones Chimicae*.⁵⁵⁵ Lord Egmont in 1730 noted that the Queen asked his opinion about how proper names should be translated into Latin, and suggested that the French pronunciation should be replicated 'because' in her opinion 'that is the language most generally known'.⁵⁵⁶ It is perhaps surprising to find few German titles. However the majority of the books were published after 1683, the year of the Queen's birth, and it was largely a library of contemporary literature acquired by the Queen in the course of preparing herself for her role and responsibilities as Queen Consort of Great Britain.

In the drawing together of the library the influence of Leibnitz, formerly the librarian in Wolfenbittel and in Hanover is apparent.⁵⁵⁷ His views on the desirability of the creation of the 'Univeral Library' is evident from his correspondence with his patrons.⁵⁵⁸ The classification of

⁵⁵⁴ Arkell, R.L. *Caroline of Ansbach* op cit. p.34

⁵⁵⁵ RA Geo Add 28/2 Caroline to Mrs Clayton

⁵⁵⁶ Egmont, John Perival. *Diary* op cit. Vol. I. p.102

⁵⁵⁷ Fara, P. *Pandora's Breeches* op cit. pp.75-80

⁵⁵⁸ Bowden, Delia K. *Leibnitz as a Librarian and 18th century Libraries in Germany* School of Library, Archive and Information Studies. Occasional Publications 15. London. University College, London. 1969: Bayle, Pierre

the Queen's library strives towards the universal and encyclopaedic. In its inclusion of many compendiums, dictionaries and directories it begins to serve as a resource for the exploration of all branches of knowledge. It is interesting to note that the Lady Suffolk had observed that even back during her years in Hanover Caroline 'dip't much into' Pierre Bayles *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique* published in 1697 and this is still present in her 1741 Library list.⁵⁵⁹

Cosmopolitanism as well as universality was another governing factor. There were volumes in a wide range of languages and concerning many cultures. While there was a significant number of books dealing with British subjects when viewed within the larger collection it is difficult to claim that patriotism was an over-riding factor. The library certainly stood a long way from the recommendations of those who advocated that in the education of girls and women, instruction should be in a limited number of accomplishments based around moral instruction, household skills, drawing, dancing and some languages. The Queen's library evidently was conceived to satisfy a far more ambitious agenda; one that strived towards matching the achievements of the Electors of Berlin and Hanover.

Information about the Queen's purchase of books is noted in the miscellaneous papers lodged in the British Library. Her suppliers listed in her Privy Purse Accounts included James Roberts, John Jackson, Mr Knapton and Pierre Dunoyer. Paul Vaillant and his sons Paul and Isaac supplied European titles. On occasion second hand books were acquired. There is a reference to a play purchased from the collection of 'Mrs Of(e)ilds' who was probably the actress Anne Oldfields, who had been drawn into Princess's circle at Leicester House in the early 1720's. Books were also purchased from the library of the politician Thomas Sclater Bacon. The

Dictionnaire Historique et Critique. Dissertation concernant le livre d'Etienne Junius Brutus 2 vol. Rotterdam. R.Leers. 1697

⁵⁵⁹ Walpole, Horace. *Reminiscences* op cit. p.115

Queen's Privy Purse accounts reveal that she paid £115.2s.6d on a single title unspecified from the Covent Garden auctioneer Christopher Cock.⁵⁶⁰ For book repairs and for new bindings the Queen used the services of John Brindley. The private accounts also provide interesting information about how she chose to prioritise her spending. While the cost of funding her building projects were high, these bills were extraordinary. The Queen's most regular expenditure apart from items for her wardrobe was on books.

Gifts of books boosted the library holdings too. These arrived in a variety of circumstances. When it became known that the Queen was collecting old romances, Lord Sutherland gave her a 'very scarce' example from his own library 'to the surprise of everybody who knew his passion for books' Lord Islay gave her 'an ancient' edition of Amadis and Mr Dormer made various contributions from his library at Rousham.⁵⁶¹ Within the Print Room at Windsor Castle there are two bound editions of engravings by Dorigny after Rapheal's cartoons of the Acts of the Apostles. One of the volumes has a handwritten presentation dedication to Caroline as Princess of Wales from Marie Maugis.⁵⁶² Organisations who sought to associate their activities with the new regime, such as the Society of Ancient Britons lodged their statutes with the Queen. On other occasions authors presented the Queen with their own works. On Caroline's arrival in London in 1714 Samuel Clarke had hastened to St James's Palace to present Caroline with copies of his books.⁵⁶³ It is clear that the Queen immediately read the works as just two days later Lady Cowper reports that her mistress announced 'Dr Clarke shall be one of my favourites,

⁵⁶⁰ RA Add Ms. Geo/54000

⁵⁶¹ Walpole, Horace. *Reminiscences* op cit. p.120

⁵⁶² Dorigny volume with dedication RCIN 809052. Dorigny volume without dedication RCIN 889053

⁵⁶³ Cowper, Mary Countess. *Diary* op cit. p.14.

his writings are the finest things in the world'.⁵⁶⁴ John Gay presented Caroline with his *Shepherd's Tale* in 1714 and his *Poems on Several Occasions* in 1720.⁵⁶⁵

While the St James's Palace Library had hardly been completed before the Queen's death it is important to try and establish what may have been her motivations in its establishment. Did the Queen see the establishment of a 'universal library' in itself as a desirable aim? Did she see the library as a base for serious scholarship, on her own part or to benefit others? Was the library seen as a benefit principally for the Queen's family, her friends or an even wider public? Did the Queen see the library as a venue for intellectual debate, or an extension to her programme of artistic patronage? Was the library part of the grand Renaissance notions of princely responsibility, or was the impetus for its creation grounded in baser motives, such as rivalry or competition with those the Queen admired or sought to impress?

Without doubt the library would have been well used by the Queen herself. As Lord Egmont makes clear the Queen had a wide range of interests. He notes in 1734 that she 'talked with me at least half an hour upon my collection of printed heads, Dr Couraye, the history of France, gardening, painting, flattery and divers political and moral subjects'.⁵⁶⁶ In 1732 he had noted that when General Wade showed the Queen a beautifully illustrated missal which had taken him five years to locate, the Queen had expressed herself 'exceedingly obliged to him' and promised faithfully to return the book to him later, appreciating that the volume must mean a great deal to its owner. When the Queen was complimented for her interest and her tact in this, she 'shook her head as esteeming herself not to deserve the compliment', at which Egmont stoutly maintained

⁵⁶⁴ Ibid. p.17

⁵⁶⁵ BL.C120.h.6 (7)

⁵⁶⁶ Egmont, John Perival. *Diary* op cit.Vol. II. p.138

‘which yet she does, for she reads and converses on a multitude of things more than (her) sex generally does’.⁵⁶⁷

There is ample evidence of the time the Queen spent reading. Lady Cowper in November 1714, shortly after her arrival in London ‘went out to carry the Princess all my Lord Bacon’s works, which she bade me get her’, and in July 1716 reported ‘in the morning at Court the Princess gave me a book to read to her; twas Madame Desboulrière’s Works’.⁵⁶⁸ John Gay recorded in August 1714 ‘The Princess and the Countess of Picbourg have both subscribed to Pope’s *Homer*’.⁵⁶⁹ In 1726 De Arbuthnot wrote to Jonathan Swift on the publication of *Gulliver’s Travels* telling him that he ‘had seen the Princess of Wales and found her reading the Travels and she was just come to the passage of the hobbling Prince, which she laughed at’.⁵⁷⁰ Lord Tyrconnel wrote to Mrs Clayton ‘The best judge of poetry, that I mean are the Queen and Mr Pope’.⁵⁷¹ In 1731 the *Gentleman’s Magazine* reported that the Queen had sent to the Drury Lane Theatre for George Brannell’s new play.⁵⁷² After the Queen’s death the *Gentleman’s Magazine* reported part of a eulogy prepared by Baron Pöllnitz which stated ‘The reading of choice authors was always one of her greatest pleasures; and her Majesty may be said to be one of the most learned Princesses in Europe’.⁵⁷³ A second eulogy stated ‘This great Queen, always the object of our love and admiration.....to a great compass of knowledge, joined most polite address and the most easy and elegant manner of producing the sentiments of others, or conveying her own. She not only

⁵⁶⁷ Ibid. Vol. I. p.300

⁵⁶⁸ Cowper, Mary Countess. *Diary* op cit. pp.12-13

⁵⁶⁹ Gay, John. *The Letters of John Gay* op cit. p.12

⁵⁷⁰ Gwynn, Stephen. ed. *Life and Friendships of Dean Swift* London. Thornton. Butterworth. 1933. pp.260-261

⁵⁷¹ Sundon, Viscountess. *Memoirs* op cit. p.241

⁵⁷² *Gentleman’s Magazine* July 1731 p.307

⁵⁷³ *Gentleman’s Magazine* December 1737 p.753

studied books, but infinitely better the nature and reason of things'.⁵⁷⁴ Lady Bristol noted that the Queen was read to each day as she dressed.⁵⁷⁵ She also spent a great deal of time with personal correspondence. Her letters to the elderly Liselotte ran to many pages.⁵⁷⁶

The library lending lists indicate a lively traffic of books between the various royal residences and shows that the book collection was well used. John Krahe, Herman Hobourg, John Shaw and Henry William Lawman, Pages of the Backstairs were usually charged with this responsibility. However, on occasion Lady Charlotte Roussy, one of her Ladies in Waiting and Mrs Margaret Purcell, the Queen's Seamstress were called on to assist. In December 1736 even Lord Hervey was asked if he could carry *The Designs of Inigo Jones* and *The Reign of Queen Elizabeth* from Kensington Palace back to St James's.⁵⁷⁷

The Queen evidently considered books as suitable presents for her family and her close friends. The British Library miscellaneous lists of the collection mentions books were given as gifts in 1730 to Princess Caroline, Lord Hervey and the Countess of Nottingham. In 1736 Prince Frederick and Princess Anne were recipients, and George II was despatched to Hanover with three copies of Pierre le Courayer's *L'Histoire du Conseil de Trente* recently published and dedicated to Queen Caroline. Presumably this was to ensure that copies were lodged in the Hanoverian royal library.

⁵⁷⁴ Ibid. p.767

⁵⁷⁵ Hervey, John Baron. *Letter Books of John Baron Hervey* 3 Vol. Wells. Jackson. 1894. Vol III. p.37

⁵⁷⁶ Cowper, Mary Countess. *Diary* op cit. pp.64-65

⁵⁷⁷ BL.C120.h.6. (6)

The Queen took her duties as educator of her children very seriously and one should consider whether the Queen may have seen her libraries as an aid to this process. Even though separated from her eldest son Frederick from 1714, and to some extent from her three eldest daughters, Anne, Amelia and Caroline for a number of years, her influence on them remained profound, and her practical involvement in the education of her three youngest children William Augustus, Mary and Louisa is well recorded. Following the Act of Settlement it had become evident that the young, fertile Caroline was key to ensuring the royal succession. Caroline as mother was a notion celebrated within contemporary British debate, and constantly alluded to in the popular press. The role was much debated in eulogies published on her death in 1737, and as educator she was especially respected and praised 'The Queen knew how absolutely necessary it was to learn youth very early to refuse whatever was hurtful or dishonourable, and to prefer the constant and durable good before momentary and fleeting pleasures. She knew that in this practise of the doctrine of refusing lay all the seeds of virtue and the foundation of everything great and truly noble, for which reason she obliged her children to refuse whatever was unreasonably desir'd, and in this hath set us example' claimed the *Gentleman's Magazine*.⁵⁷⁸ When Stephen Phillpott published his *Essay on the Advantage of a Polite Education* in 1747 he held up Caroline as an exemplary parent relating that she was always present when her children were under instruction and if not, that she ordered the master to supply her with an accurate and objective account of the class.⁵⁷⁹

The elder children were bright and lively. As early as 1714 Lady Cowper recorded 'The little princesses who are miracles of their ages, especially Princess Anne, who at five years old speaks,

⁵⁷⁸ *Gentleman's Magazine* December 1737, p.753

⁵⁷⁹ Phillpott, Stephen. *Essay on the Advantage of a Polite Education* London. 1747. pp.26-27

reads and writes both German and French to perfection, knows a great deal of history and geography, speaks English very prettily and dances very well'.⁵⁸⁰ After the estrangement of George II with his father their education was entrusted to Lady Portland the niece of William Temple and widow of one of one of William III's closest advisors. The details of their daily timetable at Kensington Palace are recorded in BL Egerton 1717 fol.78. The girls rose at 7 and after prayers coffee and breakfast walked in the park from 8 to 9. Lessons lasted all morning with the main meal of the day arranged for 1pm. After this they walked again and if the weather was bad were instructed to 'talk of sensible things'. Dancing lessons, riding lessons, shuttlecock and music lessons occupied the rest of the afternoon. In the evening they would undertake needlework projects, and would spend time with their mother, and sometimes their father before going to bed. While Caroline deeply resented Lady Portland's appointment, she does not seem unhappy at the education they received. By the date of the accession they were confident and articulate. Princess Anne according to Lord Egmont understood Latin, and spoke Italian as well as French and German.⁵⁸¹ Princess Amelia was another able linguist.

With the death of George I all the children, except Frederick the heir, came together under the Queen's charge. It has been discussed earlier how they accompanied her to the theatre and to concerts, paid visits to artist's studios and to view art collections and architectural projects. The library lending lists show that the Queen passed onto the children any publication she believed worthy and of interest. In 1730, Princess Caroline is presented with books detailing houses and gardens in the Netherlands.⁵⁸² They were encouraged to subscribe to the works of Dr Courayer,

⁵⁸⁰ Cowper, Mary Countess. *Diary* op cit. p.38

⁵⁸¹ Egmont, John Perival. *Diary* op cit. Vol. I. p.466

⁵⁸² BL.C120.h.6.(6)

one of the Queen protégés.⁵⁸³ There are warrants for the purchase of bookcases for the royal schoolrooms, as well as music desks, and music stands, throughout the 1730's.⁵⁸⁴

The Queen was much more involved in the education of her youngest three children. As well as accompanying their older siblings on the cultural outings planned by the Queen, they also followed their own course of studies put together with the advice of the Queen's Vice Chamberlain, the scholarly Sir Andrew Fountaine. Prince William Augustus was provided with his own establishment in 1731 and the Queen appointed Stephen Poyntz his Governor, and Mr Wyndham as Sub-governor. Instruction was provided by an extremely distinguished set of tutors. Despite being the younger son, there is a suggestion that this English born Prince might have been groomed as the future British monarch, leaving Prince Frederick, the elder son born in Hanover, to inherit the titles there.⁵⁸⁵ Dr Phillips of Westminster School taught grammar, Mr Palairet, French. Dr Robert Smith professor of astronomy at Cambridge was appointed at the suggestion of Sir Isaac Newton to teach mathematics and Nicholas Harding law and constitutional history. Philip Zollman taught modern history, geography and German. Mr Hawksbee travelled regularly from Woolwich Academy to teach the Prince ballistics and gunnery. Captain Thomas taught fortress design and field engineering. The principles of ship building were taught by Sir Jacob Acworth, Surveyor to the Navy, while architectural drawing was the responsibility of Henry Flitcroft, Clerk of the Works. Bernard Lens taught drawing and dancing lessons were given by Mr Dunoyer. A laboratory was set up for the Prince's use at St James's Palace, Sir Edmund Halley the Astronomer Royal attended there to teach astronomy.

⁵⁸³ Egmont, John Perival. *Dairy* op cit. Vol II. p.74

⁵⁸⁴ TNA. LC5/73 ff.85-86

⁵⁸⁵ George II discussed the constitutional implications of this with Lord Hardwicke, the Lord Chancellor in 1737. Discussed in Marples, M. *Poor Fred and the Butcher* London. Michael Joseph. 1970. p129

Elsewhere in the Palace the Queen had a printing press set up for her children's use, as has been discussed earlier. Lady Deloraine served as governess to the two youngest girls.

There is ample evidence all the children derived benefit from this imaginative programme of instruction. Princess Anne's school books have been preserved in the Koninklijk Huisarchief in the Hague, and include extracts from Herodotus, Plutarch, Thucydides and others written in French, a lengthy transcription concerning the history of the Roman Empire written in Italian, and theological extracts in German.⁵⁸⁶ When the young Prince Frederick of Prussia (later Frederick the Great) visited his friend William Henry IV Stadholder of the Netherlands in 1738, and met Princess Anne, whom William had married in 1734, he was very impressed by her and wrote later to Voltaire 'J'ai beaucoup parlé de Newton avec la Princesse; de Newton nous avons passé a Leibnitz, et de Leibnitz à la feue reine d'Angleterre'.⁵⁸⁷ Anne provided her own children with an enlightened education and her reputation as an educator led in 1748 to the request from Charles Margrave of Brandenburg Ansbach that she take his son to be tutored under her supervision. One of Prince William Augustus's exercise books has been preserved in the British Library.⁵⁸⁸ Wentworth wrote to Lord Stafford that the Prince possessed 'the scholars learning with the courtier's ease'.⁵⁸⁹ Louisa, Queen Caroline's youngest daughter, who married Frederick V of Denmark in 1743, astonished her new countrymen by taking on the education of her young children herself.

⁵⁸⁶ Koninklijk Huisarchief. The Hague. The Netherlands. A17/470 i-iii

⁵⁸⁷ Preuss, J.D.E. ed. *Oeuvres de Frederic le Grand* 31Vol. Berlin. 1846-1857. Vol. XXI. p.224

⁵⁸⁸ BL Add Ms. 16941. *The Original Exercise Book of HRH The Duke of Cumberland when a boy in his own handwriting 28 Nov 1727-25 March 1728*

⁵⁸⁹ BL Add Ms. 22227 f.167

By the time the library at St James's was built the Queen's two eldest children were married. Prince Frederick and his wife Augusta were determined to establish their own household at Charlton House and later at Kew. Princess Anne was living in the Netherlands. Only the youngest children remained in the schoolroom and one may conclude that their educational needs were not a major motivating factor behind the project. Following the death of the Queen there is little evidence that the new library was much used as an educational tool. Without doubt the Queen's earlier book collections must have played a part in the education of all the children, and provided them all with an appreciation for literature. Both Prince Frederick and Princess Anne went on to found important libraries. Three catalogues were made of Anne's extensive book collection in the royal palace in The Hague between 1756 and 1760, and show that in its scope and classification system it echoed her mother's model. Anne's daughter, Caroline, also went on to establish a library.⁵⁹⁰

There was a very significant presence within the library of books about or written by individuals celebrated within the Queen's worthies programmes, especially her programme of contemporary heroes set up at the Hermitage at Kew. The collection demonstrates not only a connection between the two projects, but also could suggest another motive for the creation of the library was to establish a venue for a form of *salon* for academic debate. By the mid seventeenth century well born women were beginning to realise the deficiencies in their education and in Paris the concept of the *salon* emerged where they could meet to improve their understanding of the world. Not only did the occasion provide an incentive for preparatory reading but also an opportunity to practise conversational skills. While they did not have an official public or

⁵⁹⁰ Personal communication Martin Loonstra, Koninklijk Huisarchief, The Hague. Discussed in Richard G. King 'Anne of Hanover and Orange (1704-59) as patron and practitioner of the arts' in *Queenship in Britain* Edited by Clarissa Campbell Orr. op cit. pp.162-192

academic role, attendance did provide a form of access into the world of letters, and they became especially important in allowing woman a part in contemporary scientific debate. (Access to scientific societies was barred to women in most instances until the 20th century). At the *salon* of Madame Rambouillet in the mid seventeenth century, both ladies and gentlemen would meet within Madame Rambouillet's drawing room to discuss a topic she had settled on. Later the *salons* of Mesdames des Roches and Madame de Sevigné were celebrated for their debate of literary themes.⁵⁹¹

This form of debate especially when taken under the auspices of a senior noblewoman or female ruler could prove remarkably beneficial for those seeking promotion within the fields of art, literature, science and even philosophy and divinity. The appointment of musicians, composers and painters very often fell to the female charge. With Sophie Charlotte's founding of the Academy of Science in Berlin and both her and the Electress Sophia of Hanover's leadership of a formidable intellectual circles as examples before her Caroline may have already considered how she might discharge her responsibilities in the promotion of the arts and sciences in her new homeland. Pre-publicity about her intellect and interests circulated by Leibnitz and Voltaire must have ensured that artistic and academic communities in Great Britain eagerly awaited her arrival in London. Caroline promised to be confident, articulate and intelligent, and she had the means to make things happen.

⁵⁹¹ For information on the French *salon* of the seventeenth and early eighteenth century see Fara, P. *Pandora's Breeches* op cit. pp15-16 and Outram, Dorinda *Panorama of the Enlightenment* London. Thames and Hudson. 2006. pp.57-62. Further comparison between the cultural environment in England, France and Germany conditioning the nature of female *salon* gatherings is discussed in Goodman, Katherine R. *Amazons and Apprentices. Women and the German Parnassus in the Early Enlightenment* New York. Camden House. 1999. pp.8-9. For information about French female involvement in the patronage of the arts see Spencer, Samia.I. *Frenchwomen and the Age of Enlightenment* Bloomington. Indiana University Press. 1984. pp.143-181.

From 1714 Samuel Clarke attended on the Queen on numerous occasions to discuss his works. The Queen engineered a heated debate between him and Leibnitz between 1715 and 1716 relating to the principles of natural philosophy. This correspondence was published in 1717 and a copy can be found amongst the Queen's books. Dr Clarke was also invited to a discussion with Sir Isaac Newton, another of Caroline's heroes, in February 1716, to explore Sir Isaac's 'system of philosophy'.⁵⁹² Other scholars invited into this circle included Richard Bentley, a classicist as well as royal librarian who Caroline set up in debate with Samuel Clarke, and Edmund Halley. While I am unable to find a record of Caroline meeting William Woollaston, one of her contemporaries who was commemorated in the Hermitage project, his books are well represented in the library holdings and his portrait after Michael Dahl, and possibly by Charles Jervas is found within the Royal Collection.

Caroline also put tremendous energy into the support and promotion of contemporary writers, and several were invited to her 'salon'. Alexander Pope and Jonathan Swift first encountered her when invited to one held at Leicester House, Jonathan Swift received his summons from Henrietta Howard, Lady Suffolk who explained to him that Caroline 'Loved to see odd persons and having sent for a wild boy from Germany, had a curiosity to see a wild Dean from Ireland'. Subsequently it was at these gatherings that Pope and Swift sought to draw the interests of the poet John Gay to her attention.⁵⁹³ Dr Alured Clarke and Mrs Clayton used another of the meetings to push forward their protégé Stephen Duck the 'Thresher Poet'. Duck subsequently enjoyed many years of royal patronage which is discussed elsewhere. Lord Tyrconnel introduced Richard Savage author of the poem *The Bastard* to Caroline, championing him for the post of

⁵⁹² Cowper, Mary Countess. *Diary*. op cit. p.84

⁵⁹³ Pope, Alexander. *The Correspondence of Alexander Pope* Edited by G Sherburn. Oxford. Clarendon Press. Vol.III. p.378

Poet Laureate. While Tryconnel's petitioning proved ultimately unsuccessful, Caroline did provide Savage with an annual pension of £50 a year, despite his Jacobite sympathies and she granted him a reprieve from a death sentence after he killed a man in a drunken fray. Steele as he became increasingly disabled asked for her assistance. Lord Egmont would promote the interests of Dr Francois de Courayer. The Queen eventually commissioned Dr Courayer to undertake a translation of *Thuanus* into French. Lady Sundon sought to bring William Somerville, the author of *The Chase* to the Queen's attention and Lord Hervey promoted the work of Dr Middleton, the author of a biography of Cicero.⁵⁹⁴

Caroline's enthusiastic and prolonged correspondence with Voltaire led to his dedication of his *Henriad* to her in 1728 and she was feted in his *Letters concerning the English Nation* published in 1733. This attention brought her credibility with the British literatti and many aspiring authors such as Gay strived to attract royal favour. His *Captives* represents his earliest deliberate attempt and later in 1725 he went on to dedicate his *Fables* to the four year old Prince William Augustus. Eventually the Queen offered him a court sinecure on the accession in 1727 to serve as Gentleman Usher to the two year old Princess Louisa for the annual pension of £150. He turned the offer down as too demeaning. She provided a pension for the impoverished granddaughter of John Milton. After Hoadley and Bishop Sherlock encouraged the Queen to read *Alciphron or the Minute Philosopher* written by Dr George Berkley, lately Dean of Derry, in 1732 she found out that he had recently decided to spend two years preaching in America. She later sent for the author and enjoyed discussing with him his American experiences.⁵⁹⁵

⁵⁹⁴ Egmont, John Perival. *Diary* op cit. Vol. I. p.7, p.32, p.101, p.102, p.179, p.197 : Melville, Lewis. *Maids of Honour* London. Hutchinson & Co. 1924. p.151 : Hervey, John Baron. *Diary* Edited Croker op cit. Vol. II. pp.218-219

⁵⁹⁵ Sundon, Viscountess. *Memoirs* op cit. Vol. I. p.171

On her own initiative Caroline is very likely to have been behind the commission to Richard Bentley in 1716 to make a new edition of classical works for the use of Prince Frederick. While Bentley received his instructions from Lord Chief Justice and George I, given Caroline's concern with the education of her children she is very likely to have been behind the initiative. In 1726, Bentley went on to dedicate his edition of Terence and Phaedrus also to Prince Frederick. Later the Queen encouraged him to publish a new edition of *Paradise Lost*; suggesting 'that he had printed no edition of an English classic and urged him to undertake Milton'.⁵⁹⁶

But – can one say that the new library was conceived as a venue for the Queen's 'salon'? The death of the Queen so shortly after the completion of the building work, and before its decoration was complete meant that she had no opportunity to use it at all. All one can say is that the library was sited conveniently in central London. It was large enough and furnished in a way to allow small gatherings in meet in congenial and comfortable surroundings. The collection of books reflected not only the range of subjects which the Queen chose to debate at her earlier 'salon' gatherings, but included works by the individuals she admired and sought to draw into her circle. Following her accession the nature of Caroline's scientific and literary gatherings, as described by Bentley, changed subtly.⁵⁹⁷ The regular Birthday Courts and Drawing Rooms became the more usual occasion at which conversation with the Queen was possible. Pope, Swift and other contemporary literary lions found themselves abandoned. Perhaps the Queen sensed that to continue to invite them into the intimate royal circle could be dangerous to the new regime. Her patronage continued but moved to humbler, needy recipients, such as Duck, Savage and Milton's

⁵⁹⁶ Kipps, Andrew and Towers, Joseph, *Bibliographia Britannica* op cit. Vol.II. pp.244-255

⁵⁹⁷ Bentley, R. *Correspondence of Richard Bentley* 2 vols. London. John Murray. 1842. Vol. I. p.152

granddaughter. Lady Wortley Montague accused the new Queen of only promoting those she could maintain in her thrall.⁵⁹⁸ Swift and Pope took their revenge with their cutting commentaries on the royal family, Swift in his satirical verse written about the Hermitage in 1733, and Pope in book four of his 'Dunciad' in 1742:

Lewis the living genius fed
And rais'd the scientific head
Our Q- more frugal of her Meat
Raises those heads which cannot eat.
Answered: Our Queen more anxious to be just
Than flattered rears the living bust/
To chosen spirits, learned tribe
Whom Lewis like she cannot bribe.

Her Majesty never shall be my exalter
And yet she would raise me, I know by – a halter.⁵⁹⁹

That Caroline continued in her admiration of the great minds of her era, is demonstrated in her creation of a pantheon of contemporary worthies in the Hermitage in her retreat at Kew. This was however a personal and unofficial project. Could one suggest that in creating the library the Queen may have hoped to provide an official venue within St James's Palace, one of the main business centres for the new regime, in which actual debate might again resume, now within the controlling and apolitical framework of the 'Universal Library'?

It is also important to note that the library at St James's represented the Queen's most ambitious architectural project. The remodelling of Kensington Gardens and the construction of the garden pavilions at Kew in 1731 and 1735, though noteworthy do not match the scale of William Kent's double cube room with its well researched sculpture programme celebrating the British dynasty.

⁵⁹⁸ Halsbrand, R and Grundy, I. ed. *Account of the Court of George I in 'Essays and Poems' and 'Simplicity, a Comedy'* Oxford. Clarendon Press. 1993. pp.83-94

⁵⁹⁹ *Gentleman's Magazine* April 1733. p.206

The design conceived in 1736 shows both Palladian and Jonesian influences allied with lively mannerist detail such as devised by Guilio Romano at the Palazzo del Té in Mantua, and the Palazzo Borghese in Rome, which Kent had the opportunity to visit during his Italian sojourn. In 1720 Lord Burlington had purchased from John Talman his father's collection of designs by Inigo Jones and Webb, and would later in 1721 acquire Talman's drawings by Palladio. By 1723 it is evident that Burlington was using Palladio's drawings as models for his own architectural projects and in 1724 he asked his protégé, William Kent to prepare the Jones and Webb designs for publication. The volume *The Designs of Inigo Jones with some additional designs* appeared in 1727.

As has been discussed the Queen enjoyed the company of William Kent and almost certainly would have delighted in working with her favourite artist on the construction of the library. Kent too would have relished the task. He had many connections with the literary world. The poet John Gay was another protégé of Lord Burlington and when his first collected works were published by Tonson and Lintot in 1720 the volume had an engraved frontispiece by Kent. Kent is said to have designed the scenery for Gay's play *The Captives* when it was performed at the Drury Lane Theatre in 1724 and in 1726 he provided illustrations for Gay's *Fables*. In 1725-1726 he provided illustrations for Alexander Pope's edition of Homer's *Odyssey*. There is ample evidence, as has been noted earlier, that discussions between Kent and the Queen touched frequently on architecture and the significant number of designs surviving relating to the new library suggest in this instance this must again have been the case.⁶⁰⁰

⁶⁰⁰ Althorp B8, 1733 Countess of Burlington to Lady Elizabeth Finch. 'If Signor is with you pray tell him that I saw last night a book publish's by I Ware with Ripley's name to his designs upon the Queen's table in the Gallery'.

How much should we see the establishing of the library as a fashionable notion? Was it put together by the Queen in an attempt to rival similar schemes undertaken by others. Undertaking a building on this scale certainly gave the Queen an opportunity to emulate the work of Lord Burlington, Kent's patron, and whose villa at Chiswick she had taken care to inspect in 1735.⁶⁰¹ The library gave the Queen the opportunity to draw together a substantial architectural scheme, establish its internal decoration, commission fine furniture, and devise a sculptural programme for its ornament within a royal palace at the heart of the capital.

There are a number of libraries the Queen would have encountered or had the opportunity to discuss within the royal circle. These were established by both men and women whom the Queen might have sought to emulate or to impress. Sir Robert Walpole, the first minister, whose company the Queen appears to have enjoyed established a small library within his new house at Houghton. Sir Matthew Decker who visited in 1728 noted that the room was lined with bookcases, and contained 'many valuable books, bound and so neatly and well placed that it makes a perfect picture'. The Queen's interest in Houghton is evident from the fact she acquired for her library *Plans, Elevations and Sections, Chimneypieces and Ceilings of Houghton in Norfolk, the Seat of the Right Honable Sir Robert Walpole* published by Isaac Ware in 1735. Sir Andrew Fountaine, appointed by the Queen as tutor to Prince William Augustus had a painted worthies series arranged within his library at Narford.⁶⁰² It contained portraits of Inigo Jones, Palladio, Rubens, Alexander Pope, Ben Johnson, Shakespeare, Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, Prince Rupert, Dr Pocock, Cardinal Mazarin and Cotton. Lord Egmont, who enjoyed discussing his collection of 'printed heads' with the Queen maintained a substantial library at Charlton

⁶⁰¹ Chatsworth Papers 212.2. Lady Elizabeth Finch to Lady Burlington. May 25. 1735

⁶⁰² Vertue *Notebooks* op cit. Vol. IV. p.10. p.161 : Ibid. Vol. V. p.120

House in Kent decorated with a series of portrait busts.⁶⁰³ Alexander Pope who sat on the fringes of the Queen's circle, but with whose work she was familiar maintained a large library and wrote in 1711 of his collection of painted worthies 'I keep the picture of Dryden, Milton, Shakespeare etc in my chamber round me, that the constant remembrance of 'em may keep me always humble'.⁶⁰⁴ Even though the establishment of a library at Ickworth, the seat of Lord Hervey, the Queen's Vice Chamberlain has to be credited to his wife, Mary Lepell, lately one of Caroline's Maids of Honour, he undoubtedly had literary interests and throughout the 1730's wrote skits for the amusement of the royal family as well as a series of political pamphlets and a response to George Buckley's *Minute Philosopher*.⁶⁰⁵

The women in the Queen's circle who enjoyed intellectual pursuits and maintained their own book collections included Lady Burlington, who enjoyed a happy intimacy with her husband's circle of artist, architect and writer friends and arranged her collection of books within the rooms designed for her in the Link Building at the new villa at Chiswick. Mary Lepell, Lady Hervey, as has been discussed is responsible for the creation of the library at Ickworth. She maintained lively connections with the literary world and until her eyesight failed in the 1760's read avidly, particularly enjoying classical authors.⁶⁰⁶ Charlotte Clayton, later Lady Sundon, a Woman of the Bedchamber, appointed in 1714 was well educated and well read. It was through her auspices that both Stephen Duck and Dr Pierre de Courayer were introduced into the royal circle. Her theological discussions with the Queen led to Jonathan Swift naming them both as

⁶⁰³ Vertue *Notebooks* op cit. Vol V. p.74

⁶⁰⁴ Pope, Alexander. *Works* Edited by W Elwin and W.J.Courthorpe. 8 Vols. London. John Murray. 1871-1889. Vol VI. Correspondence I. p.145

⁶⁰⁵ Hervey, John, Baron. *Memoirs* Edited Croker op cit. Vol. II. pp.333-346

⁶⁰⁶ Melville, Lewis. *Maids of Honour* op cit. p.190. Letter to John Murrey

‘freethinkers’.⁶⁰⁷ Henrietta Louisa Jeffries, later Countess of Pomfret, Lady of the Bedchamber, became immensely interested in genealogy. Throughout the 1730’s her correspondence with her friend Lady Hertford shows a great love of books. In 1739 she wrote ‘I have been very agreeably entertained this week with reading ‘Les Poesies de Monsieur l’Abbe Regnier Desmarias’ which though an old book was new to me. If I did not think you had read it, I would copy some pieces out if it for your amusement ; but as I conclude you have read everything in that is worth reading, I will not tire you with transcribing what you already know’.⁶⁰⁸ Lady Deloraine, governess to the younger princesses, as Lord Hervey wrote to his friend Stephen Fox in 1731 ‘has taken of late into the sweet fancy to study philosophy and talks all day, and I believe dreams all night of a plenum and a vacuum. She declares of all philosophers Dr Clarke is her favourite and said t’other day if there was any justice in Heaven , to be sure he took place there of the twelve apostles’.⁶⁰⁹

There is ample evidence that there was constant lively intellectual debate within the Queen’s intimate and wider circle. Books were discussed and exchanged. The Queen’s enthusiasm for genealogy was transmitted to her associates, and the Queen by turn was influenced by contemporary theological and philosophic ideas. However, in the creation of a ‘universal’ library the Queen has no peer in England. It was not until the foundation of the British Library in 1757 that there is any project which bears comparison.

However, the Queen died before her great library was complete. Press comment concerning the library is limited to the fact that it was here that the Queen was taken ill. George II, while

⁶⁰⁷ Lady Sundon. *Memoirs* op cit. Vol I. pp.95-96

⁶⁰⁸ Seymour, Frances, Duchess of Somerset. *Correspondence* op cit. Vol I. pp.69-70

⁶⁰⁹ Hervey, John Baron. *Lord Hervey and his Friends* op cit. p.131

cancelling the commission for sculpture from the Queen to Michael Rysbrack, did retrieve the terracotta modellos which had been completed and eventually these were installed on their brackets between the bookcases. He continued to pay the salaries of the librarian and library keeper, and when Francis Say the Librarian died in 1748, he appointed Archibald Bower to the post. The King continued to deposit books in the library, but the rate of growth dwindled rapidly. Between 1741 and 1760 just 323 volumes were added. Elsewhere the King continued to pay a pension to Stephen Duck. In 1747 Duck left Merlin's Cave and took holy orders, becoming initially Chaplain to the Brigade of Dragoon Guards and later moving to a living at Byfleet. He remained 'Librarian of the Queen's Select Library' at Richmond. After he committed suicide in 1755, the King allowed his daughter to retain a small apartment there.

The small library of books at Kensington Palace was dismantled in 1764, and was moved to join George III's book collection at Buckingham House.⁶¹⁰ Sir Hugh Roberts suggests that at the same time some of the bookcases from the St James's library were dismantled, moved and altered to suit the new 'Great' or 'West' library there.⁶¹¹

In the 1750's the Hermitage was dismantled to make space for Augusta, Princess of Wales's 'landscape' garden at Kew. There was little public comment. Merlin's Cave was gently lamented when taken down by 'Capability' Brown in the 1770's in the course of creating a new garden for Queen Charlotte. A few remains lingered until the early 19th century.

⁶¹⁰ RA Geo Add Ms. 16

⁶¹¹ Roberts, Sir H. 'Metamorphosis in wood' op cit. pp.382-390

William Kent went on to design another library in 1742 for General Dormer at Rousham. It was conceived in a gothic style, and only echoed the arrangements in the Queen's library in being embellished with portrait busts.⁶¹² Elements of the Kent's design for the Queen may however be seen in the east range of Old Schools in Cambridge a building designed by Stephen Wright, one of Kent's assistants.

The Queen's Library at St James's was described in 1805 by Thomas Tennant in his *Some Account of London* as a 'lumber room', but enjoyed a brief period of glory again when the library of the Duke of York was moved there in 1815.⁶¹³ In 1825 the building was cleared and demolished.

When the contents of the old Royal Library were donated to the British Museum in 1754 Queen Caroline's collection of books does not appear to have been included. Emma Jay has recently identified just eighteen books within the King's Library and seven manuscripts in the British Library collection which can be identified in the inventories of the Queen's books, in addition to the four manuscript catalogues of the Queen's library itself. Within the present Royal Library at Windsor Castle she found just three additional titles which belonged to the Queen.⁶¹⁴ To this tally I can add two more - the two volumes of Dorigny engravings after Raphael which have been preserved in the Royal Collection Print Room. There were sales from the British Library of books considered duplicates in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. These were

⁶¹² Walpole Society. *Horace Walpole. Visits to Country Seats* op cit. p.25

⁶¹³ Tennant, Thomas. *Some Account of London*. London. 1805. p.111: Shepherd, Edgar. *Memorials of St James's Palace* 2 Vol, London. Longmans Green. 1894. Vol.I. pp.385-387: Colvin, H.M. *The History of the King's Works* op cit. Vol.V. p.243

⁶¹⁴ Jay, Emma. *Caroline Queen Consort of George II and British Literary Culture*. Doctoral Thesis Oxford University 2004

generally conducted by Sotheby's, who traded initially under the name S Baker and G Leigh, and later as Leigh and Sotheby. I have checked the catalogues of the sales of duplicate books which took place on 4th April 1769, 6th March 1788, 21st April 1805, 18th May 1818 and 19th February 1819, but none of these seems to contain books from Queen Caroline's collection. It is absolutely possible that the books of engravings which survive were preserved after been placed with other folios including engravings by Hollar which had been retrieved by the Queen from the King's Closet at Kensington Palace. Even though the volumes can be identified in the book movement lists, they are not included in the lists for the main library and possibly were never lodged there. Both of the volumes were noted in two manuscript inventories made of the Print Room collections in the reign of George III.⁶¹⁵

Two of the three volumes within the present Royal Library derive from the library of the Queen's son, Prince William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland at Cumberland Lodge. This book collection passed to George III in 1765. In the 1830's this was combined with George III's other private libraries by William IV to form a new book collection at Windsor; an attempt to compensate for the second transfer of royal books to the British Museum in 1823. It is possible that some books passed to the Queen's other children and there is an annotation to the undated catalogue of the Queen's book collection in the Royal Library that 'All the duplicates found in this catalogue were sent to Hannover by his Majesty's order'.⁶¹⁶

⁶¹⁵ Print Room Inv.A. Print Room Inv.B

⁶¹⁶ RL 1028932a title page

In John Watkins's *Memoir* of Queen Charlotte published in 1819 he suggests that Queen Charlotte inherited Caroline's books.⁶¹⁷ However, an examination of her extensive book lists show that most books matching titles in Caroline's library inventories post date Caroline's editions. There is no indication that Caroline's books were included in the sale of Queen Charlotte's books which took place in 1819.⁶¹⁸

It is possible that some books escaped from royal hands, as there is one volume in the British Library acquired in 1897 and annotated with the note that the book was believed to have once belonged to the Queen.⁶¹⁹

In the creation of the library at St James's it could be that Queen Caroline sought simply to create for herself a congenial retreat, but with her early experience of the great royal libraries in Berlin and Hanover in mind, her project quickly surpassed any English model. I would contend, however, that in compiling so carefully an encyclopaedic collection of books, classified to reflect all branches of knowledge she was in fact creating what would be the final component in her programme of princely patronage of the arts and sciences. The library should be seen as an adjunct to the collection of rarities, the collection of paintings drawn together in celebration of the ancient pedigree of the English royal line, and the programmes to celebrate and commemorate historic and contemporary worthies. A library with such lofty aspirations would require a distinguished setting. The incorporation of a carefully researched dynastic portrait series

⁶¹⁷ Watkins, John. *Memoirs of Her Most Excellent Majesty Sophia-Charlotte, Queen of Great Britain* London. Henry Colburn. 1819. p.197. 'Much of Her Majesty's time was now employed on the internal improvements of her palace, and particularly in fitting up the library, which, besides the addition of Queen Caroline's collection, was endowed with above two thousand of the most valuable books in different languages.'

⁶¹⁸ Christie, Manson and Wood. *Library of Books etc.* London. June 9th – June 12th. 1819 and the following days

⁶¹⁹ BL Add Ms 23623. John Bell. Musical Compositions some dated 1621-2, copied 1728

serves to reinforce messages the Queen has already sought to establish elsewhere. Whether the Queen saw her 'universal library' as a setting for an intellectual debating chamber will be impossible to establish. We know she actively created opportunities for this kind of meeting and we might summarise that the new library set up in such a prominent position would have provided an admirable neutral venue. Even though the library should be celebrated for its cosmopolitanism it is still interesting to note that a massive 35% of books within the library concerned British subjects and only 5% German indicating perhaps some nationalistic agenda.

I see the Queen's early investment in her libraries elsewhere at St James's, at Richmond and at Kensington Palace as a preamble to her great project. Eventually these libraries were subsumed into the new initiative. Small collections of rare and special books remain at Kensington Palace but should be considered part of the collection of rarities there. The small libraries established at the Hermitage and Merlin's Cave at Kew, I believe, must be viewed simply as an additional form of interpretation to the artistic programme contained within each of the follies.

Of one of Britain's earliest 'universal' libraries little more than a tantalising glimpse survives in the small number of books surviving from her collection. This includes an edition of Cervantes *Don Quixote*, tables of *Ancient Coins*, *Weights and Measures*, *Osteographia or the Anatomy of Bones*, Richard Holland's *Observations on the Smallpox*, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, *A View of Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophy* and the works of William Wollaston and William Shakespeare. With the Queen's death this unusual and individual project lost its only interpreter and champion, and as with the Queen's other initiatives, it floundered and eventually was swept away. It would be

Caroline's grandson, King George III, who was largely responsible for creating the first 'Universal Library' in Britain to survive to our own times.

CONCLUSION

There were many expectations placed on a queen consort. She was seen as a wife and helpmate for her husband, but also as a support and political confidante. She was the 'mother of the nation' in her nurturing of a large and successful family. She would associate herself with values touching on philanthropy and in the promoting of what was seen as the feminine sphere of the arts and sciences. Power and success in this, of a formal and informal kind, would depend on personality, ambition, dynastic capital, social success, cultural ability and whether an arranged marriage developed into a meaningful bond or not.

Queen Caroline had twenty one years first as first electoral princess of Hanover, and from 1714 as Princess of Wales in which to hone her skills in undertaking this role. Arguably her training had started even earlier at the Brandenburg Court where the dynastically ambitious Electress Sophie Charlotte would have made her aware of her position as a Hohenzollern princess and the possibility that through marriage she could consolidate her position further. Marriage to George Augustus of Hanover with its promise of the Hanoverian Succession to the British throne presented a particular and exciting challenge, to which Caroline addressed herself assiduously.

By 1727, which saw the accession of George Augustus as King George II, there was no doubt that the emotional bond between him and Caroline was strong, and that Caroline's role in the new order would be as an equal. Caroline had learned to manage her husband carefully. Her loyalty and toleration of his mistresses brought her respect. In the ten years remaining of their married life, George II invariably left Caroline as his regent when he travelled abroad. There is

ample evidence George was devastated by her death. Despite George I's alienation from his son, which resulted in the establishment of rival courts, he maintained a respect for Caroline and allowed her to supervise the education of her younger children. It was Caroline's success in producing a large, lively and well educated family that would be the key to ensuring a solid protestant dynasty. Her literary and artistic patronage served to create an English pedigree for the new regime which transcended recent dynastic adjustments.

It has been Queen Caroline's programme of artistic patronage which has been discussed in this study. I have established that it followed a distinct pattern. Four major projects sat at its heart. The first was the creation of three series of sculpted worthies and heroes selected principally to celebrate the English royal line, but extending to embrace contemporary scientists and thinkers. The Queen also drew together a collection of paintings in a single location in celebration of 'the English'. The third project was the creation of a *wunderkammer* filled with artefacts which ranged from the 'unicorn's horns' and other components identified with the magic and superstition of the Renaissance cabinet, to items retrieved in enlightened contemporary archaeological excavation. Lastly the Queen compiled what might be considered Britain's first 'universal library'. It was provided with a new and appropriately elegant building in St James's Palace, which may well have been designed to serve as a cultural debating forum.

Taken separately these projects might simply have been seen as an agenda of the Queen's interests and preoccupations. Taken together they form up into a considerable programme based in Renaissance notions of princely responsibility which would have been inculcated into

Caroline at the culturally resplendent courts of Saxony, Brandenburg and Hanover where she spent her early years.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the early Stuart monarchs had built massively on the collections of paintings and artefacts made by their Tudor predecessors. Under Henry, Prince of Wales one can discern the beginning of a collecting and organising rationale after Renaissance princely principles. However, although his very considerable collection passed to his brother, Charles I, its integrity was not respected. Items passed out of the collection as gifts; others were sold to raise funds for the king's military campaigns. Many more items were dispersed during the sales of the king's goods after his execution.

In the course of this research it has been good to discover how much of this collection had survived the years of the Commonwealth, given the traditional belief that it had been largely dispersed. I am intrigued that William III and Mary II in the late 17th century began to take an interest in the items which came to their notice. Mary's delight in the Holbein drawings has been recorded. She acquired jewellery, gems, ceramics and other bibelots – her taste was eclectic, whimsical and personal - but these were items which might have contributed eventually towards a collection of rarities. Mary was sufficiently convinced by the royal librarian, Richard Bentley, that the royal book collection had been so neglected that she backed an initiative to re-order it on a more formal basis as a national resource.

It is perhaps possible that had the queen not died suddenly in 1694, the Holbein drawings, together with the picture collection, the scattered collection which formerly formed parts of the

early Stuart cabinet, and the royal library, might have received a little more attention. The subsequent fall into obscurity of the drawings, and the indifferent attitude to the remaining collections can be attributed to William III's preoccupations elsewhere and was certainly not helped by the confusion following the fire at Whitehall Palace in 1698.

This was the situation would ensure that on Caroline's arrival in London there was no great dynastic portrait series, of either painted or sculptural medium to inherit. The Holbein drawings which formed the core, and arguably the *raison d'être*, of the picture closet project had to be re-discovered in their obscure long term store. The royal library housed in various temporary locations scattered throughout the capital, was not an asset Caroline appears to have been in a position to exploit and she chose to initiate her own new scheme, not only compiling a new book collection, ordered carefully on encyclopaedic principles, but even provided with it with its own new discreet venue.

Caroline's programmes were significant on many counts. She would ensure that the collections surviving the Commonwealth were marshalled, appraised and conserved. The picture cabinet was arranged primarily around the collection of Holbein drawings but as the inventories of its contents makes clear, additional works, formerly part of Charles I's collection, were integrated, with their provenance carefully noted. Inventories of the *wunderkammer* note item it contained items that had earlier belonging to Henry VIII, Charles I, and Mary II.

The Queen used the collections to maximum advantage. She was well aware of their worth aesthetically and in the lively movement of artefacts between the royal residences reveals she

appreciated that the collection could be invested with new politically appropriate messages when items were displayed or hung in new groupings.

However, Caroline achieved far more than merely appropriating and promoting existing collections. Tremendous effort and money was also expended on the identification and acquisition of many new additions to complete or embellish the programmes. The Queen's three sculptural worthies series were entirely her own commission. In the scale of her initiatives she quickly surpassed all her immediate royal predecessors. William III had maintained a dense picture hang in his private closet at Kensington, but the choice of work it contained was random and eclectic. Caroline's picture closet even with its discontinuities was in a league above. Each of her projects was considered and put together following a clear organisational rationale. She drew together some of the curiosities collected by Mary II, but now they were integrated into a much more carefully constituted *wunderkammer*. On occasion the messages behind the projects became so complex and multi-tiered, as at the Hermitage and Merlin's Cave worthies programmes, that most contemporary visitors were baffled despite the Queen's appointment of a hermit interpreter. In the range of her projects she had no rival.

Caroline was also unusual in being prepared to be involved practically in her projects. She would regularly visit artists, and travel to view collections in the houses of her friends, often taking her children with her. She was so interested and informed about artistic techniques that when it was suggested that she allow the precious Holbein drawings to be reproduced she was sufficiently aware of the processes of print production to know that they might be damaged. It is arresting to imagine the middle aged queen wearing mantua, petticoat and slippers, her preferred style of

dress, climbing the scaffolding tower erected within the Banqueting House to review progress on the conservation of Ruben's ceiling canvases. She ensured that her children were provided with the best of art tutors. They emerged confident and enthusiastic amateur artists. Both her younger son and her daughters were provided with lessons in lathe turning.

The Queen, well aware of the precariousness of the new Hanoverian regime, ensured that, though her approach to her artistic patronage and the aspect of her royal role this represented, was conditioned by her European upbringing, was assisted by her relatives abroad and spurred on by international rivalries, it was also underpinned by another agenda - to promote the continuity of the royal line. When her initiatives received adverse as well as positive criticism, or the patriotic messages they contained proved too opaque for the contemporary English audience, and particularly to those in the English literary and artistic circles she sought to impress, the Queen made strenuous attempts to draw her schemes in line with the expectations of her new compatriots.

It has been important to explore how Caroline developed a dynamic between the various royal residences and used the spaces within each venue in an imaginative and sometimes innovative way. While Kensington Palace was adopted as the hub of her own operation, Richmond Lodge and its gardens, St James's Palace, Hampton Court and Windsor Castle each received her attention and was used by her in its particular way. She worked on dressing her environment to create a series of experiences ranging from the intimate and theatrical to the grandiose and cerebral and invested them with messages.

In her pursuit of these goals Caroline showed her boldness and confidence, not only in her own intellect and her taste, but in her position within the royal family, the court and the wider cultural and political circles. She constantly pushed against traditional assumptions concerning her role both as Consort and as a woman. On occasion those around her took her to task for her actions. George II objected to one of her picture moving exercises and while Caroline deferred to him in this instance she quietly continued to conduct her projects, knowing that in other matters it was he who was dependent on her. When contemporaries criticised some of her initiatives for trespassing into territory they felt fell beyond her jurisdiction for instance when she actively participated in and contributed to intellectual debate, or for them being alien to their experience as in the case of the waxworks, Caroline, undaunted and ever interested in that contemporary discussion her projects generated, set about recasting her work.

When the Queen died even the most cursory examination of the Lord Chamberlain's and Lord Steward's records reveal the impact she had had on many aspects of royal life, well away from the artistic sphere. Her rooms were shut up, their contents untouched. The management of Princess Mary's trousseau on her marriage to Friedrich II, Landgraf of Hesse-Kassel in 1740 was left to the Margaret Purcell, the late Queen's Seamstress. Even the lively and regular accounts for supplies for the bathroom stop abruptly. It seems that it was only the Queen's interest in science and medicine that had ensured the thorough programme of personal and household hygiene within the court was maintained.

Despite this one has ultimately to conclude that Queen Caroline remains an enigma to most historians and there has been little lasting perception of the role she played in the promotion of

the arts in early Georgian England. She enjoyed ten brief years as queen before her death in 1737, and her projects were circumscribed by the funds made available to her. On her death, family antagonisms, and ambivalence and caution resulting from the unfavourable reception some of the projects received, ensured that the fledgling programmes were not supported or promoted. Eventually all the projects were abandoned, the venues appropriated for other use, or dismantled and the collections dispersed or lost.

Another reason why Queen Caroline, her interests and extraordinary programme of artistic patronage has I believe escaped the attention of historians is because of the nature of the records chronicling its extent and scale. Many of the series of papers are incomplete. It is particularly sad that the run of Privy Purse accounts chronicling the queen's personal expenditure is limited. The records in addition are split between a great many repositories. In the case of the *wunderkammer* for instance, the scale and complexity of the Queen's scheme only becomes apparent after a fine reading of inventories and other miscellaneous papers held in the National Archive, the Royal Archives, The Royal Collection and the British Library. Important information is provided on occasion in marginal annotations to un-associated texts.

I would like credit given back to Queen Caroline for her part in marshalling items once part of the Tudor and Stuart cabinets and for her selective re-acquisition of other artifacts. Her interest in conservation has ensured that items have survived in the present Royal Collection in the best order. She promoted a stable of young artists, artists and gardeners, as well as writers, scientists and thinkers, which brought a new confidence and enthusiasm for the arts to members of the royal family and the wider court circle. Her children received such an enlightened education that

even though their status limited their marital options each reveals their own distinct and strong personality in later years and many went on to establish lively intellectual circles of their own. Many of the artistic projects for which Caroline's eldest son Frederick is celebrated should be re-evaluated in the context of his mother's initiatives started years earlier. I would suggest that in celebrating the English dynasty within so many of her art projects Caroline contributed in yet another imaginative and important way to the anglicisation of the new regime, and she should be seen as a significant contributor to and facilitator of the early eighteenth century enlightened debate.

Appendix 1

Gentleman's Magazine. August 1732. pp.992-923

On Her Majesty's setting up the Bustoes of Mr Locke, Sir Isaac Newton, Mr Wollaston and Dr Clarke in the Hermitage at Richmond

Sic Siti Laetantur Docti

With Honour thus by Carolina plac'd
How are these venerable Bustoes grac'd
O Queen! with more than regal Title crown'd
For Love of Arts and Piety renown'd!
How do the Friends of Virtue joy to see
Her Darling sons exalted thus by Thee?
Nought to their Fame can now be added more
Rever'd by Her whom all Mankind adore.

Sui memores alios fecere merendo

Behold, O Stranger, new from foreign Lands,
Where Slaves obey what lawless Will commands;
Where Statues to the proud Oppressor rise,
And hood-wink'd Faith has put out Reasons Eyes:
Behold the Honours Caroline ordains,
To these great Souls, who wrote to break your chains!
Unerring Nature's equal Laws to show;
Prescrib'd to all above, and all below:
Example rare! O Britain blest to see
Thy Queen declare for Truth and Liberty.

Gentleman's Magazine. December 1732. p.1121

On the Queen's Grotto
By Stephen Duck

Now blush, Calypso, 'tis but just to yeild
That all your Mossy Caves are here excell'd
See how the Walls in humble form advance,
With careless Pride and simple Elegance;
See Art and Nature strive with equal Grace,
And Fancy charm'd with what she can't surpass
How swiftly, Thames and flowing still proclaim

The Buildings beauty and the Builder's Fame;
 tell Indian Seas thy Neriads here have seen
 The sweetest Grotto, and the wisest Queen,
 Whose Royal Presence blest this humble Seat;
 How small the Mansion and the Guest how great.
 So Angels sat in Canaan's sweet Abodes;
 So rural Shades were honour'd with the Gods:
 Here may her soul th' Almighty's Wonders trace,
 Far as the Worthies that adorn the Place;
 Whose awful busts around the grot appear,
 The brightest Stars in Learning's Hemisphere;
 Their Fathers dimly view'd the dawning Ray,
 They rose like suns, and brought a Flood of Day.
 But cease, my Muse, and cast thy wond'ring Eyes
 Where Phoebus' lofty Domes majestick rise;
 Whose tuneful Train have sung this Grotto's Praise
 Contending each 'till each deserves the Rays.
 O pardon me, ye learned Sons of Fame,
 Who feintly after you attempt the Theme;
 Nor think I rival your Poetical Fires,
 My Queen commands and Gratitude inspires:
 And you, Imperial Foundress, deign to smile,
 Nor scorn the least, that latest Muse's Toil,
 Who brings the tardy Off'ring of her Lays,
 The First Duty tho' the Last in Praise.

Gentleman's Magazine. June 1733. p.317

Prize Verses, No.1

For the Five Bustos in the Queen's Grotto

Oft has the muse her heav'nly skill prophan'd
 And wealth, or power, her venal voice obtain'd:
 Tyrants and ravagers of human race,
 Her partial aid has rais'd to honour's place.
 Strange! that the softer notes of sacred verse,
 Shou'd the dire wastes of horrid wars rehearse,
 Or take from glitt'ring grandeur trifling themes,
 Or wild ambition and its frantick dreams,
 Yet pay to heav'n-orn science mean regard,
 And leave fair virtue to her own reward.

O! let such Obloquy no longer stain
 Britannia's sons, or blast the Muse's strain:
 A theme presents will honour all their lays,

Britannia's queen deserves their utmost praise:
 To Aeras yet unknown her fame shall last,
 And triumph, when the bounds of time are past.

Behold her venerable cell!---she builds,
 No pillar hung with spoils of martial fields,
 The clam'rous drum, the swords destructive gleam,
 Or tubes, whose wombs with dreadful thunders teem:
 More noble trophies Caroline delight,
 Which the wrapt mind to studious thoughts invite.
 Amid surrounding glooms her Grot she finds,
 deep silence reigns thro' all the solomn bounds:
 Not more sequester's was the sacred shade,
 Wher Numa nightly to Aegeia pray'd;
 Nor more divine that nymph of heav'nly race,
 Than the great guests that fill this hallow'd place.
 With conscoius awe the trembling muse essays
 Too weak her voice to found their matchless praise.

Boyle the benighted paths of science clears
 Like Phoebus who to chase the mists appears

The human mind Locke intimately knew
 And in eternal lines her portrait drew

Thy pages, Wolleston distinctly show
 The truths and duties which from nature flow

Thine, Clarke, display religion's milder charms,
 Which the pleas'd soul to heav'nly rapture warms

Newton the volume of the skie unseals,
 And all th'amazing miracle reveals

That skie illustrious sages, must decay,
 And all the works of nature shrink away,
 But your establish'd fame shall still endure
 Amid the wrecks of falling worlds secure.

Thou, too, protectress of the good and wise
 At whose command these awfull Bustos rise,
 Thro' all succeeding ages shalt receive,
 The noblest praise the voice of fame can give:
 For thee Philosophy extends her views,
 For thee each Poet cultivates his muse,
 For thee Religion plumes her heav'nly wings,

And truth from her celestial fountain springs.
 If in all future annals Britain stands
 Th'amaze and envy of surrounding lands,
 If there is fixt the seat of every muse,
 If every science there her dwelling choose,
 If every virtue, every social grace,
 Distinguish blest Britannia's happy race;
 Thy bright example shall be own'd the cause,
 And the whole world unite in thy applause.

Prize Verses. No.II

Ode on the Bust of the Hon. Robert Boyle, Esq; in her Majesty's Grotto

Nature, O Boyle! tho' hid in night,
 Her laws to Thee were clear as light
 Such worth again where shall we meet?
 Or where a queen, so good, so great?

In vain we wish, in vain we burn;
 Season in these will ne'er return,
 On earth another Boyle can't shine,
 Nor such a Queen as Caroline.

While then this Grot thus is grac'd,
 So long shall British wonders last.
 Merit supported by the throne
 Shall give to fame, a lasting Stone.

Gentleman's Magazine. July 1733 p.369-371

Prize Verses. No.III

On the Queen's Grotto. An Ode

Think not, my friend, devouring age
 Shall e'er on sacred science prey,
 Or volumes of the learned sage
 Can, like to common things, decay

Britannia's Queen asserts their causes;
 For them the sculptor's art employs;
 For them from regal state withdraws,

To taste of much serener joys.

The awful busts of men renown'd
For various skill her grotto grace,
Where simple elegance is found
And solemn silence guards the place.

There sweetest contemplation dwells,
Dispensing bliss a thousand ways;
The clouds that clog the mind dispells,
And nature's choicest store displays.

Ye venerable shades! look down,
Or leave awhile your blest abodes;
And pleas'd the grateful tribute own
That lifts you to the rank of gods.

Prize Verses. No.IV
On the Queen's Grotto

What land, Britannia, e'er was blest as thine,
For usefull learning and the sacred sons
Of science fam'd? Now far more happy still
Since Caroline delights to grace desert,
And with the smiles of attrobation raise
To more distinguish'd heights those awful names
To all Minerva's faithfull vot'ries dear.

Behold the humble Grott, by royal guest
Honour'd and for contemplation form'd
Admits the venerable busts of those
Whose various skill while living, found no peer.

Boyle, first arose and like the morning star,
Gave joyful promise of the days approach:
With patient search he from the plain effect
Trac'd the remoter cause; and, with success,
Into the secret springs of nature div'd.

Lock, bravely bold, threw off the galling yoke,
With which the Stagirite for ages past
Enslav'd the free-born minds of dastard men:
He pointed out the paths of sacreed truth,
And lent to feeble reason friendly aid.

Then Newton, wond'rous man! still higher soar'd,
 Describ'd the laws by which the shining orbs,
 That though the boundless void incessant roll,
 Perform their course encircling; how they keep
 The certain track, by bonds invisible
 Unlin'd, nor through the liquid aether stray.

but if to elevate our minds above
 This earthly frame, to guide our devious steps
 To the blest realms of light, where angels dwell,
 Believe superior praise, O Wollsayon to thee,
 And thee O Clark, it justly does belong.

Prize Verses. No.V
 On the Royal Grotto

Thy grove, O Richmond, now may vie,
 With old Parnassus' sacred hill,
 The muses here their voices try,
 And Lords the heav'nly rapture feel.

Here, Carolina, sapient Queen,
 Revovles the labours of the wife,
 And leaves the courts tumultous scene
 to trace the wonders of the skies.

Semiramis, thy mighty walls,
 Thy tomb too, Artemisia, yields
 Disgrac'd each female structure falls
 Compar'd to that our sovereign builds.

Her Grotto venerably wild,
 Seems like Calypso's fabled cell,
 Or that where from the world exil'd
 The peaceful Hermit loves to dwell.

The Bustos rear'd by her command
 Thro' ev'ry age shall speak her praise,
 While Science lives in Britain's land,
 Or bards to merit tune their lays.

Gentleman's Magazine. August 1733. pp.429-431

Prize Verses. No.VI

On the Queen and the Bustoes plac'd in her Grotto

Descend from heav'n, Urania, sacred guest,
 And now with all thy fervours warm my breast,
 To the high theme of Carolina's praise
 And each distinguished sage, my numbers raise,
 Say what ennobles most a royal name,
 And wins a glorious, an immortal fame?
 Not the bright crown, the proud triumphal car,
 With all the trophies of successful war.
 How many thousand kings have sunk to dust
 Their mem'ries and their names for ever lost?
 A thousand victors in oblivion lye,
 Whose loud applause once shook the vaulted sky;
 Why are they shrouded in eternal night?
 'Cause unillumin'd with fair virtues light:
 'Tis virtue only wins th'immortal prize,
 Virtue, more durable than earth or skies!
 'Twas this, Britannia taught the blooming maid
 To flight the crown which at her feet was laid;
 In vain the charms of empire tempt her youth
 To deviate from the paths of sacred truth;
 How justly heav'n her pious zeal approves,
 And gives a crown to guard the faith she loves!
 By her example, her distinguished fair,
 Who the same awful heights of empire share,
 By her example, form each royal grace,
 And show'r down blessings on your subject race.

Virtue and science! lo they both unite,
 And blaze in Caroline with matchless light!
 From splendid scenes which females most admire,
 Behold the solitary Queen retire!
 She seeks her humble cell, and turns her eyes
 Where the five venerable bustoes rise;
 Then feeds on thoughts, sublime which raise the mind
 Above the trifling cares of humankind;
 With Boyle, the secret springs of nature views,
 And the coy pow'r thro all her wilds pursues.
 With Wollaston, revolves the mortal tyes
 Which mutually from conscious beings rise
 Beings, in one great common int'rest joyn'd,

And all dependent on th' eternal mind.
 Now Locke, the human soul's extensive pow'rs
 (Thy own great theme) employ her studious hours;
 The wafting soft from empyreal skies,
 Religion like a blooming cherub flies
 Lur'd by persuasive Clarke; the royal breast
 Receives with rapture the celestial guest;
 And now she leaves the earth, and wings her flight
 With Newton thro' unbounded fields of light;
 Enraptur'd, tracks the planets wandring way,
 And orbits where excentrick comet stray
 Millions of worlds possess the vast profound!
 Millions of suns with planets circling round!
 Planets which secondary planets grace,
 Endless the wonders of th' ethereal space!

These are the studies which a Queen admires;
 String to her praise ye bards, your founding lyres,
 In ev'ry clime repeat her honour'd name,
 And spread tho' hers you own immortal fame.

O Richmond! happy in so great a guest!
 Whose praise shall all thy pleasing scenes out-last;
 Thy palaces to wasting time may yeild,
 Thy hill be level'd with the humble field;
 Old Thames may fail, or choose a diff'rent way,
 And thro' remoter plains his waves convay;
 But Carolina's fame no damage fears
 From the wild ravage of a thousand years;
 Her Grotto fate shall from oblivion save,
 Till fainting nature seeks a final grave.

Prize Verses. No. VII
 On the Queen's Grotto

Dignos laude viros musa vevat mori

Hail royal dome! adorn'd with solemn state,
 In mem'ry of the wife, the good, the great!
 No more let strangers boast of Greece or Rome,
 Wisdom's fair temple now is found at home.
 Behold the monumental marbles rise,
 What forms, what features, strike the gazing eyes!
 How awful, how to life each count'nance wrought

In stone, profoundly grave, as, when alive, in thought.
 First rank doth learning's generous patron claim,
 Himself a noble mirror of the same;
 Strict piety in whose sagacious mind,
 And lib'ral arts in happy concert joyn'd,
 Seraphic Boyle, thy search in nature's store,
 Was but to learn t'admire thy maker more!
 See rev'rend Clarke, whose pleasant lips were hung,
 With sweeter strains than flow'd from Nestor's tongue.
 How venerable his stile! how strong his sense!
 How sof, how moving, is his eloquence!
 How dread his warnings from the sacred word!
 Learn justice, mortals, hence, and fear the Lord.
 Alas! In vain are all the persuasive Arts
 (Tho' from a Clark) to melt obdurate hearts,
 Reason and rhetorick in vain combine,
 'Till heav'nly pow'r assays, and grace divine.

Ingenious Locke, 'twas nobly of thee design'd
 T'assert the native freedom of the mind,
 To disambarrass us of prejudice,
 And mark th' extremes of reason and caprice.
 To break th' ignoble fetters of the soul,
 And range in quest of truth without unjust controul:
 Thou teachest how by conscious mental act
 We form, associate notions, and abstract;
 Declar'st th' original and vast extent
 Of thought, belief, opinion and assent.
 Laborious knowledge teems in every line,
 And Plato's fam'd ideas yeild to thine.
 Thine essay, wond'rous man! shall ever live,
 And to thy learned name perpetual honours give.

See next that son of art well skill'd to draw
 A just description of the primal law.
 In equal balance Wollaston perpend
 The mortal weight of actions and their ends;
 And states their moments; tut'ring heedless youth
 To spaek, to act, to live eternal truth:
 Sets in an easy, but surprising light,
 The matthematic principles of rght.
 Mankind admires in this new form to see
 A demonstration of morality.

But where's the great incomparable sage,
 The ornament and wonder of his age?

Huygenius, Tycho, Kepler, high in fame,
 Bow to the honours of an English name.
 The system never was from error free,
 Till Newton rose and said, Let darkness flee.
 Thus have I seen the sun compel to flight
 And once the gloomy horrors of the night,
 And pour thro' th' universe his own impetuous light.
 Thy principles, illustrious sir, proclaim
 Nature and Newton mean the very same.
 Who has explor'd like him the planets course,
 Their gravitating and projectile force?
 Newton without a rival reigns alone,
 Prince of the new philosophy. His own.
 Such was his genius, such his vast command,
 T'improve what science e'er he took in hand;
 What e'er he touch'd, howe'er abstruse his theme,
 He clear'd the rubbish, and refin'd the scheme.
 Thro' the wide world his various learning flies,
 His fame is only bounded by the skies:
 Prodigious man! accept my feeble lays,
 A mortal tribute to immortal praise.
 Nor thou remaining unsung, fair Caroline,
 In whom the graces with the muses joyn;
 By hon'ring these great names in lasting stone,
 To ev'ry British heart thou hast endear'd thine own.
 This, of thy glory, is no mortal part,
 Great patroness of piety and art.
 How bright thy virtues, O illustrious Queen,
 And num'rous as a constellation seen!
 In vain my muse attempts the long detail,
 Unequal is her strength, her numbers fail;
 These monuments of virtue thou didst raise
 In deepest silence better speak thy praise.

Prize Verses. No. VIII
 To her Majesty on her Grotto

While matchless queen, amid your lov'd retreat
 deign to build the muses sacred seat,
 Thy chosen sages from the tomb remand,
 And bid 'em rise beneath the sculptor's hand;
 Britannia's hopes indulge the bright presage,
 And from thy Aera, date her classic age.
 On the stale volume now, the labour'd piece

Applauded work of Rome or antient Greece,
 No more shall fame with partial honours smile
 To shame the names of thy happier isle;
 Thy grotto shall with their elysium vie,
 And greater names a loftier verse supply.
 Not with more swe the pious chief essay'd
 To view the wonders of that hallow's shade;
 Than we thy venerable Cell survey,
 And to it's honour'd guests our solemn visit pay.

O could my muse obtain the secret power
 To trace thee in thy calm sequester'd hour,
 When from the splendid courts admiring train
 Thy lonely feet the wonted covert gain,
 There (only conscious to heaven's purer eyes,)
 Pleas'd, should I mark thy warm devotion rise,
 See humble majesty at large express,
 In all its native noblest glories drest;
 Then view the eated queen in deep amuse
 Each reverend bust with carnest gaze peruse,
 Till dewy tears her tender conflict tell,
 And own the merit she rewards so well:
 Or while, perhaps to studious arts inclin'd
 She reads th' immortal labours of their mind,
 An intervening glance her thought relieves,
 And the lov'd form her silent praise receives.
 If Lock present his deep judicious page,
 Apparent truths her pleas'd assent engage;
 Great man! who with laborious search defin'd
 The powers, and compass, of the human mind.
 Or if experience'd Boyle's sagacious schemes
 Invite her thoughts to philosophic themes;
 They yield before his all discovering rays,
 And science triumphs in unclouded day.
 When Wollaston delineates natures laws
 (How lovely the resembling draught he draws!)
 Or Clark, religion's heavenly truths proclaims,
 And with his powerful law the soul enflames.
 Her looks the pleasing energy disclose
 And her rais'd breast with sacred rapture glows.
 If Newton writes of gravitations forces,
 Or traces colours from their lucid force,
 Abstrusest themes beneath her knowledge falls,
 She reads with ease and comprehends 'em all.
 Amazing artist! whose discerning eyes
 Search'd the vast systems of the illumin'd skies,

Taught what fixt orbs the circling orbs obey,
And first describ'd the commets devious ways.

Hail ye great sages! - her delightful care,
O may no fate the lasting work impair!
May your own fame a sure duration give,
And make the sculptos labour ever live.

Yet if, illustrious queen, her fond request,
The muse might offer, to thy gen'rous breast,
When with like favours thy unwearied hand,
Prepares a-new to bless a grateful land,
Thy Milton, oh! thy Britain's Orpheus grace,
And introduce him to the sacred race;
Thy late indulgence lately has display'd
How well thy love esteem'd the darling shade.
Approve him still, the merit will be known
When age disfigures the resembling stone.

Yet - thy own virtues shall a trophy raise,
And swell thy annals with distinguish'd praise.
- Let the rear'd bust the deep inscription fail,
And time at length o'er nature's test prevail,
Thy word, imperial fair! shall time endure,
And in eternal skies a nobler fame secure.

Prize Verses No.IX

On the Bustoes in her Majesty's Hermitage

How vain are pleasures which arise
From all the giddy world calls great
Pleasures which godlike souls dispise
For those beyond the pow'r of fate.

Scepters and crowns those envy'd things
Ne'er yeilded yet substantial joy
But the delights that wisdom brings
No adverse fortune can destroy

These solemn truth great Edward knew
When he to mourn his darling son
To Shene's sequester'd groves withdrew
The empty pomp of court to shun.

But wiser far our spotless Queen
 Who ne'er by grandeurs charms misled
 She loves that solitary scene
 To converse with the learned dead

At her command a lonely Grott
 Arises, beautifully wild,
 With busts of those whose envy'd lot
 Attracts her nice election, fill'd.

There Bacon stands, an awfull name !
 Who nature's ample bounds survey'd
 And wonders of the world's vast frame
 And learnings secret wealth display'd.

There noble Boyle to virtue dear
 Whose happy genius piercing mind
 And painfull search did science clear
 Philosophy from rust refin'd.

There Locke we view, whose matchless skill
 Taught feeble reason how to climb;
 And curbing fancy's headstrong will
 Makes wit with judgement sweetly chime.

And there sagacious Newton's plac'd
 Who well the starry regions knew
 The laws which bound the planets trac'd
 And could their devious tracks pursue.

The Wollaston whose volume shews
 He knew th'extent of nature's law,
 Could combat virtues deadly foes
 With precepts he from thence did draw.

Clarke too is there, whose sacred theme
 Supported firm with reasons force
 Was for religion our esteem
 Of every solid bliss the source.

Not ancient Rome's admired fane
 Where all their fabled Gods did dwell
 Equals this small selected train
 Or rivals Carolina's cell.

Nor shall if bards can aught presage

His fame e'er all to time a prey,
 But to the world's most distant age
 Their works, her glory shall convey.

Gentleman's Magazine October. 1733. pp.541-542

Prize Verses No.X
 To the Queen on her Grotto

Hail matchless Queen! Whose whose works each deed displays
 Not less in giving, than delivering praise;
 At whose command the willing stone advance
 Too rude for art, too regular for chance;
 Grac'd with those busts whose living worthies stood
 Foremost amongst the wise, the great, the good.

By Boyle enliven'd science takes new charms
 Solves all our doubts, and ignorance disarms;
 To works of nature, that in embryo lay,
 Drawn into life and in a flood of day,
 Newton's great genius to the world convey,
 The harden'd sinner touch'd with Clarke's advice
 Wells into tears, and softens into sighs.
 Nature in thee, O Wollaston clearly shines
 What truth she shews, what doctrine she enjoins;
 In Locke the force of reason charms the sight
 Devel'd from clouds, and bursting into light.

While thus, great Queen, you consecrate each head
 Encourage learning and its followers lead
 Smile on the living and revere the dead
 Tho' their example may successless prove,
 In your example cannot fail to move.

Hope wings our flight, with pleasure we proceed
 And shall at last find the hope to succeed;
 Tell emulation rising in its kind
 And blush to want those arts that grac'd their mind
 Oh! And my lines but equal my desire
 Then would I sing with more than mortal fire,
 See how you eternalize each sacred name,
 Reward their virtues, their deserts proclaim,
 The first in merit, as the first in fame.
 The echoing Grotto should resound my lays
 The buildings beauty and the builder's praise.

Prize Verses. No.XI

On Her Majesty and the Bustoes in the Royal Grotto

Once more ye muses, to your sacred hill
 I come with unassured and trembling feet,
 Fearful of sharp rebuke, presuming thus
 To touch the strings of Milton's hallow'd lyre
 To let the mighty theme, let Caroline,
 Whose graces blaze like the median sun,
 Address the bold attempt; Britannia smiles
 To see the grateful sing with various art
 Her equal zeal, employ the tuneful sons.

As a firm rock amidst surrounding floods
 Defeats the furious tide's impetuous force
 Whose marshall'd waves in endless ranks advance;
 (A force to sing invincible) yet fail
 In the fierce onset, and in the foam expire.

Thus Caroline's pious zeal appear'd
 In the great trial found victorious:
 In vain ambition musters all his pow'r's
 Presenting crowns and thrones and boundless empire;
 A female virtue triumphs o'er the foe
 Who had his thousands crush'd; what eye tha (sic) sees
 This heroine seated on the British throne,
 But turns in silent ravishment to heav'n,
 Convinc'd that providence presides below,
 But stop, too vent'rous muse, nor vainly try
 To blazon out her worth: too arduous task!
 In narrower limits fly, and seek the groves
 Of Richmond, long for royal names renown'd,
 But now configur'd to everlasting fame
 By Carolina's contemplative cell:
 Divine retreat! The surest, best relief
 For all the cares, the tumults and fatigues
 Of royal state, Hither at chosen hours
 The royal Hermit takes her lonely way,
 Indulging thought which lift the raptur'd soul
 Above mortality: her solemn busts
 Of sages (greater than proud Greece can boast
 Or Antient Rome or those of modern date
 Innumerable, that blinding flow there)
 Sublimest themes suggest – the wond'rous force
 Of human knowledge from the birth of thought

Working by slow gradations to the height
Of mathematick certainty – the rules
Of universal moral duty, taught
By nature's book immutable – the light
Of revelation that dispels the mists,
Th'infectious mists, which sin and folly breath,
Perplexing the strait path to endless peace.
Thus musing e'er aware she soars entranc'd
Among aetherial worlds, with large survey
Contemplating the mighty makers works:
Unnumber'd systems, in unmeasur'd space
Rolling, the motions on their orbs impos'd
By wisdom infinite: the feats perhaps
Thro' which the transmigrating soul shall pass
To vision beatifick: there my muse
Stop thy bold flight, and join the royal saint
In elevated praise to the great source
Of all existence: join thy vow with hers
To cultivate the virtues which prepare
For an eternal life of perfect bliss.

Appendix 2

BL. Ms. 15752. George Vertue. 'A Catalogue of Pictures, Drawings, Limnings, Enamels, Models in Wax and the Ivory carvings etc at Kensington in Queen Caroline's Closet next the State Bedchamber taken 1743'

1	Holbein	Duchess of Suffolk – note added later by hand – I take this beautiful and graceful head to be the last wife of Charles Brandon, daughter of Lord Willoughby
2	Holbein	a lady
3	Holbein	Sir Henry Guildford
4	Holbein	Lady Henegham
5	Holbein	Lady Audley
6	Holbein	Sir Thomas Moore. Lord Chancellor
7	Holbein	Edward VI in profile
8	Holbein	Lady Ratcliff
9	Holbein	a lady
10	Holbein	Lady Vaux
11	Holbein	Lady Leicester
12	Holbein	a lady
13	Holbein	Earl of Surrey
14	Holbein	Prince Edward, an infant
15	Holbein	Mrs Zounche
16	Holbein	Sir William Sharrington, master of the mint to Edward VI
17	Holbein	Lord Vaux, the poet
18	Holbein	a lady
19	Holbein	Lady Parker
20	Holbein	Edward Prince of Wales, a youth
21	Holbein	Reshmer, gentleman of Cornwall – note added by hand- I take this person to be John Reshimer, who married Jane, one of the two daughters of Robert, natural son of Henry Holland, the last Duke of Exeter
22	Holbein	Lady Meutas
23	Holbein	Sir John Gage
24	-	Picture in a gold frame, Cepalus and Procris going a hunting, with Cupids and dogs
25	Holbein	Lady Berkeley
26	-	Large gold frame with a black ground, containing 9 pictures, a landscape and 8 men and women, all in water colour in small square frames

1. Ernestus of

			Lunenber 2. Henry of Lunenber 3. Sophia 4. William 5. a landscape 6. Herodia 7. a gentleman in black armour 8. Margaret of Lunenber 9. a widow lady, in black
27	Holbein	a lady	
28	Carlo Dolci	In a large gold frame, the head of Christ, crowned with thorns, and the Madonna, an oil painting	
29	Holbein	Fitz-Williams, Earl of Southampton	
30	-	A large gold frame, with a black ground, containing 9 pictures, a landscape and 8 heads, all in water colour with small square frames	1. Phillip Ludowig of Pallzgraff 2. Richard 3. Anna 4. Frederick 5. landscape 6. Amelia 7. Charles 8. Elizabeth 9. Catharina
31	Holbein	Sir Richard Southwell	
32	-	A large gold frame, with a black ground, containing 9 pictures, a landscape and 8 heads, all in water colour with small square frames	1. G Frederick 2. Frederick 3. Catharina 4. Johannes 5. landscape 6. Anna Catharina 7. George Frederick 8. William 9. Elizabeth
33	Holbein	Earl of Ormond	

- | | | | |
|----|--------------|---|--|
| 34 | - | A large gold frame, with a black ground, containing 9 pictures, a landscape and 8 heads, all in water colour with small square frames | 1. Ernestus of Brunswick
2. Christina of Brunswick
3. Augustus
4. a gentleman in a wig and red drapery
5. landscape
6. George of Brunswick
7. Mangus
8. Frederick
9. Joannes |
| 35 | Holbein | Sir John Godslave – note added by hand – knight of the carpet at the coronation of Edward VI | |
| 36 | - | A large gold frame, with black gound, containing 9 pictures, a landscape and 8 heads, all in water colour with small square frames | 1. Augustus of Saxony
2. George of Brandenburg
3. Anna
4. Joannes
5. landscape
6. Elizabeth
7. Frederick William
8. Sophia of Brandenburg
9. Sophia of Saxony |
| 37 | Holbein | A drawing in a circle within a square, representing the Queen of Sheba coming to King Solomon, sitting on his throne | |
| 38 | Peter Oliver | A drawing in a black frame of the Virgin Mary and the Infant, a man kneeling, St Luke presenting him, dated 1639 | |
| 39 | - | A gold frame, with a gold ground, containing 12 heads, all in water colour in small oval frames | 1,6,9,11 ladies |

			2-5, 7-8, 10,12 gentlemen
40	-	A woman drawn in red chalk	
41	-	A gold frame, with a gold ground, containing 12 heads, some limnings, some in oil, some water colour, all in small oval frames	1,4,5,8,10.12 gentlemen 2 gentleman in enamel 3,9 ladies 6,11 ladies painted in oil 7 Louis XIV of France painted when young
42	C Boit	In a black ebony frame, a large curious enamel plate, 10 inches high by 8 inches across, of Queen Anne sitting dressed in her royal robes, her crown and globe lying on a cushion, the sceptre in her right hand, and HRH George of Denmark standing by her at full length, dated 1706	
43	-	In a square gold frame, with a gold ground 12 heads, all in water colour in small oval black frames	1, 3-5, 8, 10-12 ladies 2 Charles XII, King of Sweden 6-7 two heads set in gold, precious stones and pearls 9 lady set in crystal
44	-	In a square gold frame, with a gold ground, 21 heads, all limnings in oval frames	1. Emperor of Germany 2. Empress of Germany 5 lady set in crystal 8-10, 13, 16, 18, 19, 21 ladies 2, 4, 6, 7, 11, 12, 14, 15, 17, 20 gentlemen
45	-	In a gold frame, with a gold ground, 11	

heads, all limnings in oval frames

1. King William III's lady
2. Lady Westmoreland, in enamel
3. Princess Sophis
4. a little man's head set in jewels
5. a man's head
- 6-8 ladies
9. late King of Prussia
10. dean
11. late Queen of Prussia

- | | | |
|----|---------------------------|---|
| 46 | Luttrel | In a black frame, an old man's head, crayons on copper |
| 47 | - | In a gold frame, a lady's head, paint on copper |
| 48 | Luttrel | In a black frame, an old man's head, crayons on copper |
| 49 | - | In a black frame, a boy with a dog on his lap |
| 50 | Peter Oliver | In a black ebony case with folding doors, a limning of Venus lying on a couch, out of Charles I's cabinet |
| 51 | - | Emperor Rudolphus, square frame on a blue ground |
| 52 | Peter Oliver after Titian | In a black ebony case with folding doors, a limning of the Marquis of Guasto and his favourite lady and Cupid with arrows, out of Charles I's cabinet, dated 1629 |
| 53 | - | Prince George of Denmark |
| 54 | Peter Oliver after Titian | In a black ebony case with folding doors, a limning of the Madonna with the Infant in her lap, little St John with a scroll in his hands and St Katherine, out of Charles I's cabinet, dated 1639 |

These 16 following small pictures are hanging between the others, some in oval and some in square frames

- | | | |
|----|---|---|
| 55 | - | a gentleman in armour, square frame |
| 56 | - | lady painted on copper, oval frame |
| 57 | - | Prince William of Hesse, water colours on ivory, black oval frame |
| 58 | - | lady painted on copper, oval frame |

59	Peter Oliver	drawing of an old man's head in Italian ink, square frame
60	Cooper	young nobleman beating on a drum unfinished water colour on ivory, oval frame
61	-	lady in oil on copper, oval frame
62	Cooper	Queen Catherine, wife of Charles II, unfinished, black oval frame
63	-	Philip Earl of Pembroke, a limning oainted in oval but in a square frame
64	Cooper	Duchess of Richmond, unfinished, oval frame
65	Cooper	Lady Castlemain, unfinished, oval frame
66	-	man's head painted on crystal, small black frame
67	Cooper	young Duke of Monmouth, unfinished, oval frame
68	-	small man's head, oval frame
69	-	Duke of Wolfenbottle with a blue ribband, oval frame
70	-	Charles I's head, oval frame
71	-	Lucretia sitting and stabbing herself, a large picture in a black and gold frame, over the chimney
72	Holbein	Queen Jane Seymour
73	Holbein	Archbishop William Wareham
74	Holbein	William Parr, Marquis of Northampton
75	Holbein	a gentleman
76	-	in a square frame, with a gold ground, 9 heads, 8 in water colours and ninth an enamel, in small oval frames
		1, 3-5 gentlemen 2, 7, 9. ladies 6 Alexander the Great taken from a medal 8 Henry Duke of Gloucester, an enamel with a border of blue and gold
		these 4 small drawings in pen or pencil, in black square frames
77	-	Gustavus, King of Sweden & the Duchess of Richmond
78	-	Queen of Bohemia & Fantasy
79	-	Queen of France & Countess of Carlisle

80	-	Mary de Medici, French King's mother & Duchess of Lennox	
81	-	salutation of the Virgin Mary, paint on copper, in a gold frame, over the door to State Bedchamber	
82	-	picture representing judgement of Paris, in gold frame	
83	Holbein	Sir N Poines	
84	Holbein	Dean John Colet	
85	Holbein	Sir Thomas Wyatt	
86	Holbein	Sir Thomas Strange	
87	-	the present King of Sweden in water colours, in a small square black ebony frame	
88	-	5 heads in a small oval frame – James I and his Queen, Prince Henry, Princess Elizabeth and Prince Charles, with the arms in the middle	
89	-	the present Queen of Sweden in water colours, in a small square black ebony frame	
90	-	a large gold frame, with a gold ground, containing 18 oval heads	1, 3, 6, 7, 9, 11-13, 16 ladies 5, 10, 17 gentlemen 2 Princess Anne of Denmark 4 the Emperor 8 Charles I 14 Louis XIV, small enamel 15 William, young Duke of Gloucester 18 the Empress
91	Holbein	Lady Rich, wife of the Lord Chancellor	
92	-	picture in a gold frame representing a landscape, containing 7 children (5 sons and 2 daughters) the eldest son bringing a boar's head, with some dead game on the ground – supposed to be the Queen of Bohemia's children	
93	Holbein	Lady Butts	
94	-	Hans Holbein	Presented to the Queen by Sir Robert Walpole
95	-	Holbein's wife	Presented to the Queen by Sir Robert

Walpole

96	Holbein	a lady	
97	-	In a gold frame, prince Arthur, Prince Henry and Princess Margaret, 3 children of Henry VII	
98	Holbein	mother Jackson, nurse to Edward VI	
99	-	a square gold frame, with a gold ground, containing 12 oval heads set in gold and crystal	1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 12 ladies 2, 5, 8, 11 gentlemen
100	Holbein	Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey , a profile	
101	-	a large square gold frame, with a gold ground, containing 18 small oval heads	1-8, 11, 13, 16, 18 ladies 10, 14, 15, 17 gentlemen 9 HRH Prince George of Denmark 12 Mary, Queen of Scots
102	Holbein	a head in a square gold frame	
103	-	a square gold frame, with a gold ground, containing 21 oval heads	1, 2, 4, 6, 8, 16-17 gentlemen 3, 7, 9, 14, 18, 20 ladies 5 Princess Royal 10 James I 11 his Queen 12 King of Bohemia 13 his Queen 19 Princess Caroline 21 Princess Louisa
104	Cooper	small pictures hanging between Lady Chesterfield, unfinished, in a small oval frame a landscape and 2 figures, enamel, black oval frame	
105	-	An enamelled picture of a landscape and two figures in a black oval frame	
106	-	Prince Henry of France & Duchess de Croy, square black double frame	

107	Cooper	head of General Monck unfinished but very capital, black oval frame
108	Cooper	Oliver Cromwell, an unfinished limning, gilt oval frame
109	-	Marquis of Gordon & Madame Killigrew
110	-	Madame Maltravers & Duchess of Richmond
111	-	Mrs Hunt playing on a lute, black oval frame
112	-	Venus and Cupid, black oval frame
113	-	Countess of Portland & Mademoiselle Kirk
114	Holbein	a picture of Queen Elizabeth when Princess (added by hand – I doubt this very much) with a book in her hand with a blue cover and a book lying on a table by her, a large gold frame, over door to backstairs
115	Oosterwych	a flower piece
116	Oosterwych	a flower piece
117	-	6 small landscapes, gold frame with a black ground
118	-	6 small landscapes, gold frame with a black ground
119	-	these 6 small pictures hanging around 118 profile in wax of Frederick, King of Denmark and Norway
120	-	profile in ivory of George Duke of Saxony
121	-	model in wax of a gentleman in horseback
122	-	model in wax of a general with his staff
123	Raphael	two mice in a small square black frame, from Charles I's cabinet – added by hand – much injured but very fine
124	-	a sea piece with a ship in it, oval frame
125	-	a man's head in wax
125	Holbein	Sir Thomas Moore
126	Holbein	Princess Mary
127	Holbein	Richard Rich, Lord Chancellor
128	Holbein	Lord Russell, Lord Privy Seal
129	Holbein	a small picture of Lord Clinton
130	Holbein	a gentlemen
131	Holbein	Philip Melanchton
132	Holbein	Lady Marchioness of Dorset
133	Holbein	Lady Wentworth
134	Holbein	Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, a profile
135	Holbein	Sir N Paines
136	Holbein	Lady Richmond

137	Holbein	Lord Vaux	
138	Holbein	Sir Gavin Carew	
139	-	square gold frame, with a black ground, containing 9 small water colours in square brass frames	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. gentleman in black armour 2. gentleman in purple drapery with a truncheon 3. lady 4. gentleman in red drapery, truncheons in both hands 5. landscape 6. lady 7. lady with a parrot on her hand 8. gentleman in scarlet, his hand on a helmet 9. lady with a little dog
140	-	an old picture in enamel, in 3 divisions	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. our Saviour carrying his cross 2. he is crucified on the cross 3. he is taken down from the cross
141	-	Large gold frame, with black ground, containing 9 small pictures of the families of Lunenburg, all water colours in square brass frames	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1, 3, 6, 8 gentlemen 2, 4, 7, 9 ladies 5 landscape
142	-	a goat and 3 boys carved on ivory in alto relieve, in a square black frame	
143	-	a landscape and several figures moved by clockwork, in a large gold frame	
144	-	a Bacchenal, Silenus, satyrs and boys carved on ivory, in a square black ebony frame from Charles I's cabinet	
145	Peter Oliver after Corregio	a limning of a satyr, Venus and Cupid in a black ebony case with folding doors, dated	

146	-	1633 from Charles I's cabinet profile in ivory of Frederica-Amelia, round black frame	
147	-	square black frame containing 8 oval pictures and one square picture	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Henry VIII 2. lady 3. lady 4. Louis XIV enamel 5. Charles I 6. Charles I set oin gold 7. Edward VI aged 14 8. Katherine of Aragon, Queen of Spain 9. Henry II, Dauphin of France
148	-	Christian V, King of Denmark	
149	Peter Oliver after Corregio	limning of Venus and Mercury teaching Cupid to read in a black ebony frame with folding doors from Charles I's cabinet	
150	Holbein	John More, Sir Thomas More's son	
151	Holbein	a gentleman an old man's head, espic. Roff – added by hand – Fisher, Bishop of Rochester	
152	Holbein	Sir Philip Hobby	
153	Holbein	a lady	
154	Holbein	Queen Anna Bolyn	
155	Holbein	a gentleman	
156	Holbein	a lady	
157	Holbein	Sir Thomas Elliott	
158	-	a large square gold frame with a black ground, containing 9 small pictures all water colours in square brass frames	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Maria of Brunswick & Lunenberg 2. Margaret of Brunswick & Lunenberg 3. Clarey 4. Elizabeth 5. landscape 6. Anne 7. Sibilia 8. gentleman

159	-	a large square gold frame, with a black ground, containing 9 small pictures, all water colours in square brass frames	9. Dorothea
			1. Benhart
			2. Otto de Gross
			3. margarita
			4. Frderick
			5. landscape
			6. Magdalena
			7. Otto
			8. Elizabeth
			9. Anna
160	Holbein	a gentleman	
161	Holbein	Francis Russell, Earl of Bedford – added by hand – very young	
162	-	Charles I curiously wrought in silk, small black oval frame	
163	Gardelle	the present King of Prussia, when young, oil on copper, dated Geneva 1733	
164	-	Perseus and Andromeda, oil on copper	
165	-	black frame containing 10 limnings, 9 of then oval the tenth square	1. Francis I, King of France
			2. Henry II. King of France
			3. Francis II, King of France
			4. Mary Queen of Scots
			5. Margaret of Douglas in 1575, aged 53
			6. James I
			7. his Queen
			8. Prince Henry
			9. Prince Charles
			10. Princess Elizabeth
166	-	Pope Benedict XIV in wax, round frame	
167	Holbein	Sir Charles Wingfield	
168	Holbein	a gentleman	
169	Holbein	Edward Stanley, Earl of derby	
170	Holbein	Lady Mounteagle	
171	Holbein	Thomas Earl of Surrey – added by hand – afterwards Duke of Norfolk, beheaded by	

		Elizabeth	
172	Holbein	Sir George Cornwall	
173	-	gold square frame, with a black ground, containing 9 water colours in brass frames	1 a gentleman 2-3, 7-9 ladies 4 a gentleman holding a sword 5 landscape 6 a lady holding a spear
174	-	a square brass frame containing 9 models in wax, oval frames	1-4, 6-8 gentlemen 5 a lady 9 Julius Herzogk
175	-	a landscape in an oval frame	
176	-	perspective view of a building by candlelight, small square black frame	
177	-	a landscape in an oval frame	
178	-	Countess of Northumberland & an Italian woman	
179	-	John Lodovicus Vives aged 47	
180	-	Countess of Bughanne & a London woman	
181	Holbein	a lady	
182	Holbein	Judge More, Sir Thomas More's father	
183	Holbein	Lady Elliott	
184	Holbein	Brooke Lord Cobham	
185	Holbein	Lady Hobby	
186	Holbein	a lady	
187	Holbein	Lady Borrow	
188	Holbein	Thomas Perry	
189	Holbein	a gentleman	
190	Holbein	an old lady	
191	-	Henry VIII cut in stone, 1534, black oval frame	
192	-	a naked woman, square frame	
193	-	brown frame containing 16 Princes' heads in wax	1. King of Savoy 2. Sigismund, King of Poland 3. Frederick, King of Denmark 4. Philip, King of Spain

5. Emperor Rudolphus
6. Francis
7. John-George, Duke of Brandenburg
8. Frederick, Duke of Brandenburg
9. William of Hesse
10. Ulrick of Mecklenburg
11. Albert of Aust-freisland
12. Johaen van Anhault
13. George, Margarve of Anspach
14. Frederick-William, Sach-Admin
15. Christian of Saxony
16. Joachan Ernest Weimar

- | | | |
|-----|---------|---|
| 194 | - | profile of Queen Anne in ivory, black oval frame |
| 195 | - | boy riding on a goat and 2 boys gathering grapes, carved on ivory, black square frame |
| 196 | - | profile of Prince George of Denmark on ivory |
| 197 | Holbein | a gentleman |
| 198 | Holbein | Sir Thomas Wyatt |
| 199 | Holbein | John Poines |
| 200 | Holbein | Nicholas Borbonius, poet |
| 201 | Holbein | Sir George Carew |
| 202 | Holbein | Lady Surrey |
| 203 | - | a large square gold frame, black ground, containing 9 pictures in small square frames |

1. Johannes of Saxony
2. Hans George of Lunenberg
3. Anna
4. a lady
5. landscape
6. a lady
7. Ludewigh
8. a bishop
9. Ursula

- | | | |
|-----|--------|--|
| 204 | - | Charles I and Henrietta Maria |
| 205 | - | Duchess of Buckingham & Marquis of Hamilton |
| 206 | - | gentleman's head in oil, small black oval frame |
| 207 | - | gentleman's head in oil, small black oval frame |
| 208 | - | Duke of Buckingham & Lord Dorset |
| 209 | - | Fantasie |
| 210 | - | gentleman, half length in water colour, square gold frame |
| 211 | - | a lady, water colour |
| 212 | - | Lord Grantham in oil, small gold frame – added by hand – drawn by Dorothy Countess of Burlington designed for a caricature and is very like; he was Lord Chamberlain to Queen Caroline |
| 213 | Cooper | head of Cooper in crayon, narrow gold frame |
| 214 | - | Countess of Caernarvon & Mademoiselle Murray |
| 215 | - | Marquis of Gordon & Countess of Drummond |
| 216 | - | Fantasie & Mademoiselle |
| 217 | - | James I, three quarter length painted on a panel, large gold frame, over door to Drawing Room |

In this closet is the most valuable collection of old Japan, great part of which was presented to the late Queen by the India Company

Appendix 3

BM Add Ms. 20101 f.28

A List of the Books of Drawings and Prints in the Buroe in His Majesty's Closet at Kensington

Those marked with a cross were delivered for her Majesty's use in ye year 1728

No.1. Drawings by Polidore, Julio Romano, Raphael, Zuccaro, Daniel de Voltera, P.Ligorio, Jerom, Annibal Carracio, Taddio, L.Cangiargio, I.Pontormo, Penis, Iogon di Vicenza, Barth, Passeroto, I.Salviati, P.Farrinato, B.Bandinelli

No.2. By Different hands

No.3. * by Hans Holben, these fram'd & hang at Richmond

No.4. by Paolo Farrinato

No.5. * Prints by Hollar. Deliver'd to her Majesty Aug 1735 & by her lent to Lady Burlington since put in volumes & laid in ye library at Kensington

No.6. Drawings by Leonardo da Vinci

No.7. by the best hands

No.8. Prince Charles Book with a few drawings

No.9. Drawings by Julio Romano, M Angelo, Raphael

No.10. by Polydor, P.Veronese, Guido René, Titian

No.11. by different hands

No.12. Prints of the Revelation of St. John by Albert Durer

No. 13. Drawings by Leonardo da Vinci

No.14. A Book of Mathematical papers

No.15. * A Book with some Indian pictures

No.16. A cover with one drawing by Cherubim Alberti

No.17. Drawings by several hands

No.18. By severall hands

No.19. * A Little book of heads. Drawn on vellum

No.20. Another of different figures

No.21. * Another by Parmesano

No.22. Another by the same hands

No.23. Another by the same hand

Seven drawings rolled together of the Cartoons after Raphael

A Drawing in a frame and glass

* Five heads in Black frames unfinish'd by Cowper

A tin box with a drawing of the Triumphs by Tragan

List of the Drawings in ye Cabinet in His Majestys Lower Apartment in this is marked what has been delivered for her Majesty's use

Appendix 4

References to printed heads from Egmont, John Perival Diary of Viscount Perival, 1st Earl of Egmont Historical Manuscripts Commission. 2 Vol. London. HMSO. 1920

Volume 1

29 April 1732: Went to Court where the King and Queen talked a great deal to me, she took notice of my collection of heads and said it must be very curious and fine, but wondered I did not work upon it in the winter. I said I had not the time

19 June 1732: The Queen desired me to go to Richmond to see the drawings of Holbein which are those of Henry the 8th, his queens and cousins. She said she wanted to see my collection of printed heads

1 December 1732: Then she asked me how my books of printed heads went on. I told her the work was so voluminous, it almost tired me.

27 January 1733: After this I went to Court where the Queen talked a great deal to me of my collection of heads, which said she, you know I have a concern in; and asked how far I had proceeded in them this year. I answered I had my time to make up three volumes. She said she heard I placed them chronologically which she said was the best way. I cannot imagine who tells her such minuteness.

3 March 1733: After this I went to the Queen's side, who asked after my books of printed heads and said it must needs be a fine work.

3 March 1733: After this I was to the Queen's side who asked me after my books of printed heads and said it would be a fine work. She said several things on the occasion which will oblige me to send them her to see.

5 March 1733: I sent four volumes of my collection of heads to the Queen to look over.

10 March 1733: I then went to Court where the Queen talked a quarter of an hour to me about my four books of heads which I sent her, but would not let me send into the country for the rest. The King talked to me also about them. She magnified the design to the skies.

17 March 1733: Then to Court where the Queen excused herself not sending home my books of heads because she had the curiosity to look over them a second time.

7 April.1733: Then to Court and the Queen talked in such a manner of my prints that I found I was obliged to send for more of my books to show her.

19 April 1733: I visited Mr Clerke and left with him four more books of my printed heads to show the Queen who now has eight of them.

28 July 1733: She (the Queen) then asked me how my book of heads went on. I replied not very fast, and had only prepared three books more.

Volume II

11 Feb 1734: Then went to Court where the Queen desired me again to send her some more books of my printed heads.

9 March 1734: After this I went to Court, where the Queen told me I had forgot her; I replied the greatest pleasure I wished for was to receive and obey her commands, but that, having not been in the country since August last, I had no more heads put in order to show the Queen she replied 'then I cannot expect it, but you know I am extremely pleased in looking them over, they really give me a particular delight.

31 December 1734: The Queen talked to me at least half an hour upon my collection of printed heads, Dr Couraye, the history of France, gardening, painting, flattery, and diverse political and moral subjects.She asked me how far I was come down with my Heads. I said to the year 1660. 'Then you are come' replied she 'to the fine gravers Nanteuil, Masson etc. Well it is a great curiosity that your collection, and very useful too, in calling to mind all the great people of past time; those gravers lived in Louis 14th time, and he was a great encourager of arts'.

17 February 1735: Before dinner I went to Court, where the Queen asked very kindly after my wife.....she also asked how I went on with my printed heads and I said I had quitted her, which was double entendre.

2 March 1735: She also thanked me for sending her four volumes of my printed heads which she said gave her pleasure and some of them were very fine.

21 April 1735: I then went to Court where her Majesty talked again to me of my collection of printed heads. She told me she had looked over two of the four volumes I last sent her and was much pleased with them. There is (said she) a satisfaction to see the portraits of eminent persons dead and gone, but melancholy that soon the great actions are forgotten and that their glory remains in a sheet of paper, my family could not enough thank me for the care I had taken in making this collection which was the greatest number she had heard of.

29 May 1735: Then went to Kensington to pay my court. The Queen desired I would send her some more of my books of heads.

8 December 1735: The Queen talked again to me about my prints

29 December 1735: She asked if I went on with my collection. I said I did go on to amuse myself that way 'Amuse' (said she) 'I think it is a very useful thing'.

24 June 1736: She (the Queen) asked if I went on with my collection of heads

6 September 1736: She asked me about my collection of printed heads.

Appendix 5

BM.Add. Ms.20101. f. 60

The Inventory of the Curiositys & Medals in the Cabinet in His Majesty's Library of wch Mrs Pursell had the original. NB in opening the drawers of medals they are apt to jump out of their places.

This inventory writ & delivered to the Housekeeper by Mrs Pursell

Upper shelf in the glass case in the Library at Kensington

a chrystal cup and cover set with pearls, one pearl out

One agget Trunk

One chrystal cup and cover, a humming bird in it

One cannister of Blood stone

One ametherst salt seller

One onyx Peddestal wth a bust & a Ball at the top, something wanting

a Branch of Red Correll on a silver foot

a Green cup wrote wth figures & in it two branches of Correll

A crystal shell & tryton set wth jewells

a branch of white correll on a gilt pedestall

An agget Cup & cover set in silver gilt

Second shelf

a chrystal glass

a chrystal egg

an onyx Hart

a Chrystal cup on a Blew foot & a gilt strainer

a Chrystal bootle ornamented wth silver gilt

a Book enameld writ on Lady Mary Clisson

A Vanturene trunk

a chrystal salt seller ornamented wth silver gilt

A flatt agget cup & three balls

A moco salt seller wth an enameld rim

A small agget cruet

King Charles the first in chrystal

a small enameld Box with an Onyx Head set wth rubies

a very small cup wth pearls & rubys

a Gold Snuff Box wth 2 heads cut in onyx

a bust of a women in a Blewish stone

a shall wth 2 heads

a moco stone salt seller

a small agget cup wth 2 handles

Third shelf

A garnet cup with an enameld cover set wth Turkys stones

A figure on a frame of correll broke

An agget cup on a Peddestall

A stone cup set with enamell & a cross at top

An enamelld Jarr with figures

A box of Lapes Lazar in a

A Chrystall shell a large gore stone some pieces of ore a stone & an egg

One aggett boat two cups one sawcer

A small agget Bottle & Chain

a shell with Hereglyflicks set in gold. Four pieces of ore

In the long drawer fourth shelf

one hundred & twenty one rings & sealls but wth heads on different stones & 53 on them
set in iron

1 Drawer

A hanging Jewell of onexes containing 12 heads and a piece of figures in the middle

An Onex of the Adoration of the Kings

Friers heads set in eneamel of onex stone

2 Drawer

An emperors head set in a enamelld frame wth roses

15 heads onexes 7 set in gold or enamel

3rd Drawer

A chrystall Handles cut in a stone

Another ditto with a garnet seal

An amethyst seall with a sceptre & a crown

A taod stone set in gold

A chrystal Coffin with a lock of hair & a diamond

A locket of Amethyst & a Locket of a Sapher

12 onexes one of them set in gold

2 bitts of ore

4 drawer

11 onex heads unset

8 onex Heads set in gold or enamell

5 drawer

10 onexes unset

24 onexes set in gold or enamell

6 Drawer

A bust of a woman in marble broke

7 Drawer

10 onex heads unset

one bust with a cap set wth jewells one out the shoulders amethyst the plate gold

9 onexes set in gold or enamell

8 Drawer

one moco stone set two unset

A stone cut in a shell

10 small onexes unset

one with a bust unset

15 ditto set & enamelled

9 Drawer

one emerald Bust set & enamelled

one Hyeson Bust set & enamelled

6 onexes unset

14 onexes set & enamelled

Underneath the Drawers

a Bass Relievo in a ebony frame the Head off

A bust in a porfere bowle

A chystall Jug broke

two wood figures one broke

two agget cups broke

one shystall cup and cover

In the other case

4 daggars wth gold handles two of them set with jewells

a powder horn typt with silver

a small semeter in a Blew velvet case

A dagger wth a wooden handle

A dagger wth a Chrystall handle set with Precious stones

A dagger wth a brown Chrystal handle

A dagger wth an agget handle

two small unicorns horns

A brass sundiall a belt set wth Pearls

A sceptre gold or gilt

A cats head of serpentine stone

two stone cups one broke

one large & little agget sawcers

one large & 2 small cups

a Chynese figures of a man and monkey

one chrystal Cup with feet & handles gilt

one drawer wanting

In the Wood cabinet in the Library at Kensington

first drawer

3 Bessier stones

1 Gore stone

1 Dere stone

- 1 wild stag stone
- 1 Goat Bessier
- 1 Serpent Bessier
- 1 silk bag tyed up
- 1 small goat stone
- 1 stone or ball large

A paper with the use of the Bessier

- 1 ovall onex uncut large
- 2 small onex uncut
- 6 Aggets
- 14 little copper medals
- 1 small Piece of Lapez Lazua
- a burning glass in a Box
- 1 Neadle case in enamell
- a load stone
- a case set wth a large brownish cut glass
- a little acorn of iron or silver
- An Amber box with King James the firsts head
- An ivory box with gold dust
- A stone ring
- A lock of Hair in a piece of paper

A wooden box with an impression of a seal within

An ivory perfume box

An Ivory Tusk tipped with silver

A flat crystal with the figure of a tree

A pardonex with a lanskip

A case with Venecian perfumes

A cornelian with Jupiter & Mercury

A piece of rock Chrystal

Sir Edward Serondes gold in a Box

32 stones of different sorts with figures

2 Lead medals

A little manuscript Book

A large Brown stone very heavy

some silver ore

a paper with gums

3rd drawer in the middle

3 dozed of lead medals

7

Hundred and 5 small medals

11

36 large & small medals

1 Drawer right side

Hundred & 5 medals

2

98 medals

3

Hundred & 5 medals

4

Ditto medals 105

5

Ditto medals 105

6

Ditto medals 105

7

Ditto medals 105

8

Ditto medals 105

Appendix 6

Bathoe, W. *A Catalogue of Pictures belonging to King James II (copied from a ms. In the Library of the Earl of Oxford) to which is appended A Catalogue of the Pictures, Drawings, Limnings, Enamels, Models in wax and the Ivory Carvings etc at Kensington in Queen Caroline's Closet, next the State Bedchamber* London 1758.

Copy in the Royal Collection Surveyors Office with handwritten annotations by Horace Walpole

Annotation to item 17

Here is a drawing too by Kent for a China room for Queen Caroline

Annotation to section on Kensington Palace

In a parlour below where the King (George 2d) dines now are two pieces of architecture good, on one is Charles 1 with his Queen at dinner, in the other, the King and Queen of Bohemia, distinguished by their arms and initial letters F+E

In the same apartment is a little library fitted up (I believe) by Queen Caroline, there are several Books which belonged to Charles 1, a fine genealogical book on vellum of all the pedigrees of the King's of England with their portraits & arms illustrated; drawn I think for Queen Elizabeth, & a bas relief on stone of Maximilian & Mary of Burgundy

In an adjacent chamber are more books, a glass case with cameos intaglios & precious vases & several flagons of ivory carved and a very fine shock dog in marble see catalogue

Other pictures and curiosities at Kensington. June 2 1763

In the case in great room below a beautiful vase by Fiamingo, the crouching Venus, partly antique

In a cabinet of crystal vases, caskets etc

A large drawer of rings, seals etc an antique ring with a key

ring with the arms, motto & initails of Mary Qn of Scots, arms of Ch 1st on a seal, 2

heads of James 1st cameos, a very fine head of Mary Queen of Scots, profile with a veil,

all on onyx in old setting for a thumb ring

In the cabinet, bust of Charles 1 in crystal

In the drawers below great number of cameos& intaglios, few good, the most curious are:

Hen 5 & Pr Edw cameoon one side, intaglio on the other, 2 of Eliz by Valerio

Vincentino, the larger good, one better of Hen 4 of France, 2 of Philip 2, Large Amythest

of Emp. Leopold, stamp seal of Ch 1st all of crystal very neat

A Locke of crystal, within hair with diamond crown, fine bust of Commodus with the

lions skin, An Emperor with a spear of the bas empire on onyx, Sabina, many cameos

small set in enamel as if designed for buttons

Another cabinet of antique daggers etc

Large bronze of K. William with emblematic figure

A vase made of unicorns horn & supported by unicorns

In Queen Caroline's Library

A fine emblematic representation of a Temple in silver with ebony folding doors. Many

figures in relievo. Jacob Kormanus fee.

View of Tangier by Dankers. Corn. Jansen. Holding a shell by himself

Storm. Porcellis, Mytens by himself, damaged

Appendix 7

RA. Geo. Add. Ms.16

Curiosities sent to his Majesty from Kensington

March 22nd 1764

A samll vase of porcelaine made by George Villiers, second Duke of Buckingham. I never saw but two more pieces of this China which are in Lord Exeters collection at Burleigh

A small font of agate on six feet

A cup of green stone or glass with satyrs in relief

A large crystal vase ornamented with figures of coral & with enamel & precious stones

A small chest of Milan stone with lions heads & handles

Two very small agate ewers with old letters enamelled

A very small vase set with rubies & pearls

A small box enamelled blue set with garnets & pearls & a womans head in cameo at top

A gold case for a mass book : a cameo of hercules on one cover & mother of pearl on the other. The name of Lady Mary Clefton on it

A crystal cup with a foot of lapis lazuli

A bust of King Charles I in crystal

A flat casket of lapis lazuli set in silver

Agate cup and cover set in silver gilt with a Diana at top

Rings

A most beautiful head of Mary Queen of Scots , profile, cameo on onyx. I believe by

Valerio Vicentino or a better hand

Queen Elizabeth small by Valerio

King James 1st full face with his hat on, cameo

A seal ring with the arms of Scotland. Queen Mary's cypher behind

Gems

A large cameo set round with several others

King Henry 8th with prince Edward on sardonyx, cameo on one side and intaglia on the other, by Valerio Vicentino

Large cameo of Q. Elizabeth in profile by ditto, set in gold

A smaller ditto by ditto

King Henry 8th full face by ditto

King Philip 2nd not set

King Henry 4th of France not set

Bust of Hercules in agate

A fine cameo head of a man, profile broken antique

Venus and Cupid, cameo, remarkable for the flesh colour in the agate

Curiosities

A shock-Dog in marble; incomparable workmanship; I believe by Bernini. It belonged to

King Charles I

A picture in silver : in an ebony case with folding doors

The Emperor Maximilian & Mary of Burgundy; bas relief on stone

Two ivory cups & covers with bas reliefs

A square casket ditto

A round ivory vase, carved with boys by Fiamingo

Books

Three volumes of Hollar's works

Prints by Annibal Carraci

Scherzi d'Amore by Fialetti

Prints by Rembrandt

Palaces of Genoa by Rubans

Two large volumes of prints after Poussin, Dominichin etc

New Testament in four languages, with cuts, in velvet

The Pentateuch, with a great number of cuts, Ditto

Heywoods, spider & fly with cuts

Prints by Lucas de Leyden

Views of Audley Inn very scarce

Funeral of General Monke, Duke of Albemarle

Hor. Walpole

There are, not sent, a large & fine collection of Atlass's, the edition of the King of France's cabinet, a great many Cameos & Intaglios, but very indifferent, several ivory figures, some fine bronzes, & a cabinet of medals, but the lock is spoiled & I could never open it

Receiv'd the above mentioned things from the Honable Mr Walpole

March ye 22nd 1764

Gower

Appendix 8

Royal Archives. Manuscript bought 1942 from Mr Francis Harper, a dealer in Cheltenham. (Note from Owen Morshead)

In his Majesty's Cabinet at Kensington. Opened March 9th 1764

Are

Nine long drawers, quite full with a series of Roman Imperial silver medals from Julius Cesar to the end of Marcus Aurelius some of the most scarce of which appear to me to be false

A drawer of Greek silver meadls, not many & some false

Three fair coins of English Kings before the Conquest, found at Cleeham in Rutlandshire

A drawer of miscellaneous copper coins, very indifferent

Some bezoar stones

Another drawer with small mochas, cameos, and other baubles, no consequence; the best things I have brought to town for his Majesty and are as follows

A large Topaz in a red velvet case

A round transparent stone in a small blue and gold leather box

A curious little book of manuscript, written by Esther Inglis, 1615, and dedicated to King Charles I when Prince. This woman is famous for the smallness and neatness of her writing mentioned by several authors

Two neat cameos of emperors

A small flower pot in silver, broken and partly gilt

A small round amber box , containing a head of King James 1st

Six figures intaglia on sardonyx, like the lid of the snuff box

Three more onyxes or sardonyxes, not engraven

Jupiter and Mercury, Intaglia on a round cornelian

Trees on an oblong crystal

A mocha with the appearance of a rose tree in a pot

From another cabinet. Two crystal vases, one flat, the other tall

There is another cabinet with Turkish & Indian daggers and some agate vases that are
nothing remarkable

Hor. Walpole

Arlington Street

March ye 30th 1764

Receiv'd from the Honable Mr Walpole the above curiosities

Gower

Appendix 9

BL Sloane Ms.1968 f.72

Letter from Hans Sloane to Queen Caroline. 4th September 1736

Madame

La curiosité que j'ai eu l'honneur de recevoir de Votre Majesté est un amass considerable d'une tres-petite plante acquatique, remarquée par Plin l'ainé commettant employee de son tems (qui etoit celui de l'Empereur Vaspasien) pour la guerison des os cassés. Il l'a nommée en Latin conferra: nom que cette plante a retenu jusqu'a aujourd'hui parmi les scanvans. Il s'en trouve plusieurs especes en Angleterre aussi bien que dans les differens pays de l'Europe. Cet (schantellor?) compare avec la mien ma pariot (autant que son etat confus me permet de conjecturer) tant à l'oeil seul, qu'au microscope, en etre une espece particuliere de la Prusse; et descrite la premiere fois par Jean Loesilius, Medicin à Konigsberg dans un livre des plantes de la Prusses imprimé dans cette ville l'an 1654 in 4to p.51 où cet auteur la nomme Museus acqaticus bombycinus retiforrus ou le (mand?) Subtiler Netzformiger Wassermoss Et dans la 2eme edition publiee aussi à Konigsberg par Monsieur Gottished membre scavant de la Societé Roiale de Brandenbourg, en l'année 1703 in 4to page 173 elle est representée croissant dans l'eau dans une fort belle planche en taille douce. Ces plantes qui sont des especes de mousses, ont de emportées par la violence des torrens de leurs assiettes naturelles dans les prairies où par la stagnation et l'evaporation subsequents des eaux, elles ont été laissées sur la surface de le terre par la melange d'insectes de boue, et d'autres plantes aquatiques, il s'en est fait une espce de papier ou pastemin qui couvre des puieces, de terrain considerables; quoiqu'on se sont formé des idées bien differentes son origin.

Enfin, leur pourriture communiqué une qualité malsaine aux eaux, et repand un mauvaise odeur dans l'air; ce qui peut causer des maladies opdemiques d'ont.....les meillur remede me paroît etre.....d'ensevelir cette croute en labourant les terres.

J'ai autrefois recu de la Nouvelle Angleterre une curiosité fort extraordinaire de ce meme genre.

J'ai l'honneur d'etre avec les sentimens de devoir et de respêt les plus profonds

Madame

De votre Majesté

Le tres humble tres obeissant

Et tres-fidel serviteur et sujet

Hans Sloane

Le 4 Sept. 1736

Appendix 10

Extracts from Christie, Manson and Wood. *Catalogue of a Superbe Assemblage of Jewels.....which will be sold at Auction. Monday 17, 1819 and two following days*

Lot 25

A small bust of Charles I carved in rock crystal, unique and very fine.

Sold £43.11.6. Davis

Lot 29

A small equestrian figure of the Emperor Charles V in silver, the armour silver gilt, on an ebony pedestal with festoons of silver chasing

Sold £11.0.6. J.P.Murray

Lot 30

A cup of beautiful semi-transparent agate, on stem and foot of the same, with enamelled mountings set with pearls and turquoises, and a small vase composed of emeralds, rubies and pearls, gold mounted

Sold £17.6.6. Esdall (?)

Lot 118

Ten convex pieces of very old English carving in two black frames, portraits of Inigo Jones and ditto of Pope, carved in ivory and four plaister reliefs in imitation of silver chasings, framed and glazed

£5.12. Swaly

Lot 120

Portrait of Charles I very old embroidery in coloured silks, four portraits modelled in wax, imperfect, two square and thirteen (coorected from fourteen) shadow profiles framed and glazed

£3.3. Hall

Appendix 11

Extracts from Christie, Manson and Wood. *A catalogue of the Remaining part of a Valuable Collection of Curiosities, which will be sold by Auction by Mr Christie, Monday May 24, 1819, and two following days*

Lot 40

Bust of a faun, red jasper onyx, and a head intaglio on an amethyst

Lot 68

A narrow cylindrical cup of ivory, carved with nymphs in relief exquisitely finished, the stem formed of a cupid binding another to the stem of a tree, a female figure also on the lid, which with the rims and chased foot and linings are of silver gilt

£21.10.6. Bentley

Lot 69

A two handled cup and octagonal salver, with carved rim of the very beautifully veined oriental agate

£19.19. Gunn

Lot 71

A cup with globular stem and plinth of deep coloured veined agate with rim and body and hexagonal plinth of ancient silver mounting

£10.15. Davis

Lot 72

An ivory cup with bold carving in relief representing the Rape of the Sabines, a group also on the lid, the mountings, handle and plinth of richly chased silver gilt, the lining also silver gilt

£49.7. Hall

Lot 75

A cup of ivory with figures of river gods and Neriads carved in bas relief, of the most elegant design and fine sculpture, mounted with silver gilt lid, and foot and figured handle, the lining also silver gilt

£38.16.6. Emmerson

Lot 76

A noble crystal vase sculpted as a shell on a stem and footsurmounted with marine figures, carved in coral, the mountings of silver gilt, set with various precious coloured stones, gems and pastes

£127.1. Gilmour

Lot 79

A noble vase of carved ivory surrounded by Fiamingo boys representing the Seasons, exquisitely carved in refief, the bowl of silver gilt, with chased foliage and handles of stems of vines, the plinth, rim and cover also of silver gilt
£97. Bonnemaïson

Lot 80

A silver gilt cup with arabesques of rich chasing, the stem and foot covered with elaborate carvings of coral in fine cinquecento taste and a silver gilt pattern, in a leather case filled with velvet
£29.18.6. Davis

Appendix 12

Royal Collection, Surveyors Office. Extracts from RA. F12/13. 16B. Jutsham's Receipts

Articles received

From Buckingham Palace

p121

7. A stone sculpted with the head of the Emperor Maximilian and on the reverse side the head of the Duchess of Burgundy. Each with Latin inscription. A medal frame gilt with a swivel top

p.122

10. A black stained wood frame containing 13 silver busts of various crowned heads placed in arches with silver columns between each bust & the titles and coats of arms under each (Royal Library, Windsor 1915)

p.123

15. An ornamented stand formed of coral with a coral figure at the top, the stand mounted in enamelled gold $\frac{3}{4}$ inches high

19. A small agate vase & case. Fluted & mounted in metal gilt & 5 inches high

p.124

21. A small crystal bottle & case, gilt mounted star'd or with flaws 4 inches high

22. A globular shape crystal bottle ingraved & enamelled not any cover 3 inches high

23. A quart crystal jug, flaw'd, not any cover, gilt rim

24. A crystal goblet, gold enamelled mounts, 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches high & cover with snake

25. A small crystal ewer. Mounted in silver gilt, with handle, hinged cover & chimera head spout. Gilt base, 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches high

p.125

26. A crystal shell engraved with dragon & birds, crystal foot & enamelled ring

27. An octagonal shape crystal salt, silver gilt mounted & agate cover enamelled & gold cross on the top. 2 inches high

28. A crimson colour glass vase carved in ovals & squares lined with gold and gold enamel cover & feet. 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches high ornamented with light blue beads

29. A small vase made from a horn, mounted in silver gilt with chimera handles, 4 unicorn feet & gilt cover, 6 inches high

30. A branch of coral on silver stand 9 ¾ inches high

31. A branch of white coral supported upon a metal gilt stand. Boy and fish

p.126

32. Two branches of coral not mounted

33. Two agate goblets one much broken & the pieces missing. Mounted with enamel rings

34. An ancient powder horn mounted in silver
(see Armoury Catalogue 3008)

35. An Indian dagger in a crimson velvet case
(see Armoury Catalogue 3006)

36. A Malay dagger in a silver sheath
(see Armoury Catalogue 3007)

p.127

42. A broken hummingbird to be found in vase no 28

p.128

53. A portrait of a dog in stone in a lying posture scratching his ear, upon a rosewood plinth,
under the plinth is burnt the Crown & initials G.P.
(in the Armoury Passage)

54. A green coloured stone called a gore stone from India

55. Two small stones, the one like a nut & the other resembling the private parts of a man. Query
petrifications

p.129

59. A shell with two heads carved upon it, the one male, the other female. NB. The following
articles were brought from Buckingham House with the afore going nut not included in the list

60. A half shell, a stone very curiously carved with an old man's head, with a chimera head,
helmet with dragons jaws, the beard of the man is enclosed by the jaws of the chimera animal

p.130

61. Two small agate cups

62. Two small hexagonal shape salts, the one with an enamelled rim

63. A small agate cup and saucer

All these items were delivered to his Majesty. May 1821

Appendix 13

C120. h6 (6)

List of Books for Merlin's Cave. 22 July, 1736

Le 22 Juillet 1736. Delivre a John Jackson le libraire des oeuvres suvans estre transporter dans Merlin's Cave

Les oeuvres de dancourt comedies francaise

Les oeuvres de Racine

Les oeuvres de Poisson

Les oeuvres de Guinault

Les oeuvres de la Tuillerie

Theatre de boursault

Theatre de la Grange

Oeuvres de Pradon

Oeuvres de Capistron

Philippe de Cominis

Comentaires de Cesar

Lettres et memoires du Conte d'Estrades

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Calender of State papers. East Indies and Persia. 1630-1634

Calender of State papers. Domestic. Charles II. 1660-1661

Calender of Treasury Books and Papers 1729-30

Lord Chamberlain's Papers

LC2, LC5, LC9, LC11

Lord Steward's Papers

LS1, LS13, LS58

Map Room 696

SP. 35-69 (8-9)

SP.Dom. 1615-1616

Treasury Papers

T1, T27, T29, T52, T54, T56

Works Papers

Works 1, Works 4, Works 5, Works 6, Works 32

The Royal Collection

The Royal Archives

Papers and correspondence. Queen Caroline

RA Add Ms. 52760-6

RA Add Ms. 52773

RA Add Ms. 5.2824
 RA Add Ms. 52895-52900
 RA Add Ms 52936
 RA Add Ms. 17/75
 RA Geo Add Ms 16
 RA Geo Add Ms. 28/2-18
 RA Geo Add Ms. 54000
 RA Geo Add Ms. 1/49
 RA Geo Add Ms. 2

Accounts. Queen Caroline

RA Add Ms. 53993-54005. May 1730-March 1731
 RA Add Ms. 54006-54014. May 1731- Sept. 1731
 RA Add Ms. 54015-54023. Sept 1731-1733

RL Account book kept by Queen Mary II when Princess of Orange
 RL 1028932a
 RL 809052
 RL 1028932 a
 RL 889053

PR K459

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BL Add Ms. 23623

BL Add Ms. 20013 ff.1-13. Walton, Peter. *A List of Pictures at Kensington House* c.1710

BL Add Ms. 56078

BL.C120.h.6 (1-7)

BL Egerton 1717

BL Harley Ms. 7025 ff.189-194. *A List of his Majesty's Pictures as they are now placed in Kensington House* 1697

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BL Kings Ms. 435

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 BL. King's Topographical Collections XLI 1613

BL Maps K

BL. Ms. Rawlinson D540

BL Sloane Ms. 4068
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London Evening Post

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Figure 1. William Kent. Queen Caroline's Hermitage. Richmond Gardens. Pen and wash over pencil. c1732. 435x300mm. Sir John Soane's Museum. Adam vol. 56/33-34

Figure 2. Interior of the Hermitage. Illustrated in John Vardy *Some Designs of Mr Inigo Jones and Mr William Kent*. London 1744. Plate 33

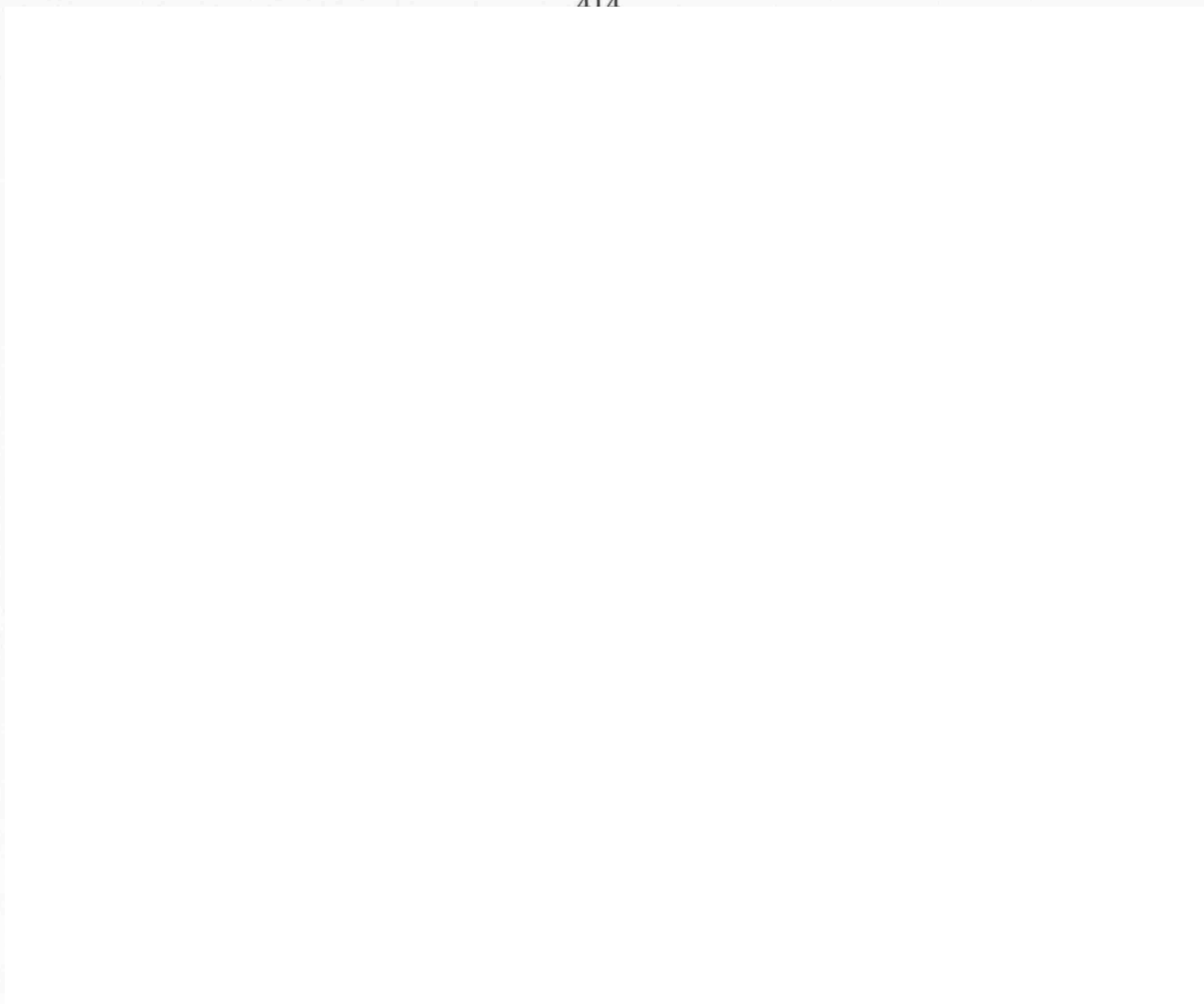


Figure 3. T. Bonles, after Bernard Lens. 'The HERMITAGE in the Royal Gardens at Richmond'. Engraving. BL 8630 f. 31



Figure 4. John Rocque. *An Exact Plan of the Royal Palace Gardens and Park at Richmond*. 1734. BL Maps K. Top.41.16.f

Figure 5. John Rocque. *An Exact Plan of the Royal Palace Gardens and Park at Richmond*.
1754. BL Maps K. Top.41.16.h



Figure 6. J Gravelot. Engraving by C du Bose. 'Queen Caroline's Hermitage. Richmond Gardens.' 1738

Figure 7. Queen Caroline's Hermitage. Richmond Gardens. Engraving, c1736. BL. King's Ms. 313



Figure 8. T Bonles. 'Merlin's Cave in the Royal Gardens at Richmond'. Engraving illustrated in *Merlin or the British Inchanter and King Arthur the British Worthy*. London 1736



Figure 9. William Kent. 'Interior of Merlin's Cave. Richmond Gardens' from J Vardy *Some Designs of Mr Inigo Jones and Mr William Kent* London 1744. Plate 32

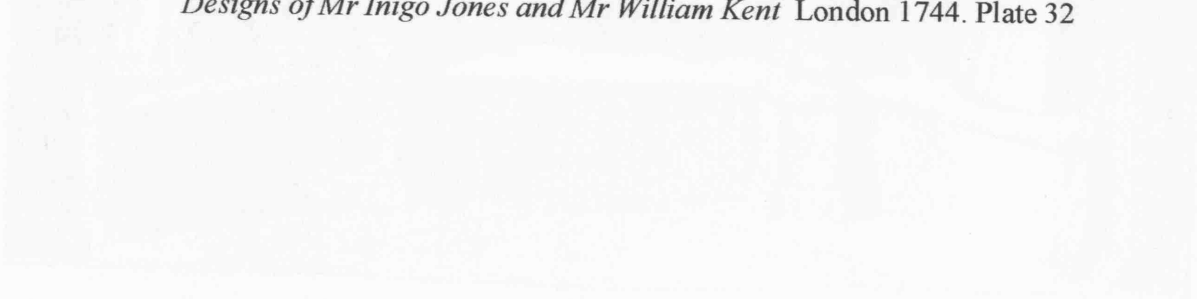


Figure 10. 'The Inside of the CAVE in the large Garden at Richmond' from J Vardy *Some Designs of Mr Inigo Jones and Mr William Kent* London 1744. Plate 32

Figure 10. 'The Inside of the CAVE in the Royal Gardens at Richmond'. Engraving illustrated in Edmund Curll, *The Rarities of Richmond* London. 1736



Figure 11. William Kent. Design for Queen Caroline's library. Plan and laid-out wall elevations with sketch portrait of Queen Caroline. Preliminary pencil, grey ink and brown wash drawing. 1736. 330x452mm. Sir John Soane's Museum. Vol.147/197

Figure 12. William Kent. Design for Queen Caroline's library. Part plan of ceiling and elevation of long side of room and part plan and elevation of end of room. Pencil and carefully shadowed grey and brown wash. 1736-1737. 309x489mm. Sir John Soane's Museum. Vol. 147/194



Figure 13. William Kent. Engraving by P Fourdrinier. Design for Queen Caroline's library. Plan and section of 'Her Majesty's Library in St James's Park'. With scale. 387x256mm. Sir John Soane's Museum. Vol. 147/192

Figure 14. William Kent. Pen and ink design for Queen Caroline's library. Part plan of ceiling and elevation of long side of room. Grey ink and grey and brown washes. With scale.
306x494mm. Sir John Soane's Museum. Vol. 147/193



Figure 15. William Kent. Pen and ink design for Queen Caroline's library. Plan and detail of ceiling. Pencil, grey ink and grey and brown washes. 227x370mm. Sir John Soane's Museum. Vol. 147/195



Figure 16. William Kent. Pen and ink design for Queen Caroline's library. Plan of end bays and elevation of end wall. Grey ink and grey and brown washes. With scale. 350x250mm. Sir John Soane's Museum. Vol. 147/196



Figure 17. William Kent. Pen and ink drawing for Queen Caroline's library. Plan and laid-out wall elevation. Grey ink and grey wash. With scale. 300x426mm. Sir John Soane's Museum. Vol. 147/198



Figure 18. J.H. Shepherd. Queen Caroline's library. St James's Palace. c1810. Pen and ink. 229x153mm. City of Westminster Library and Archives. F137



Figure 19. Charles Wild *Queen Caroline's library. St James's Palace* c1815. Watercolour. 201x262mm. The Royal Collection. RL 221168. RCIN 922168

Figure 20. Giovanni Battista Guelphi. Sir Isaac Newton. Marble. 1731. 600x510mm. The Royal Collection. RCIN 1392



Figure 21. Giovanni Battista Guelphi. Dr Samuel Clarke. Marble. 1731. 600x510mm.
The Royal Collection. RCIN 1394



Figure 22. Giovanni Battista Guelphi. William Wollaston. Marble. 1731. 600x505mm. The Royal Collection. RCIN 1390



Figure 23. Giovanni Battista Guelphi. John Locke. Marble. 1731. 580x520mm. The Royal Collection. RCIN 1395



Figure 24. Giovanni Battista Guelphi. Robert Boyle. Marble. 1732. 610x490mm. The Royal Collection. RCIN 1393



Figure 25. Michael Rysbrack. King Edward VI. 1737. Terracotta. h565xw370xd330mm.
The Royal Collection. RCIN 53346



Figure 26. Michael Rysbrack. Queen Elizabeth I. 1737. Terracotta. h655xw545xd290mm.
The Royal Collection. RCIN 45101



Figure 27. Michael Rysbrack. Edward, The Black Prince. 1737. Terracotta.
h645xw510xd250mm. The Royal Collection. RCIN 37067



Figure 28. Photograph. Re-photographed from Windsor Castle Inventory of Busts 1875 (Inventory 193, p.177) Michael Rysbrack. Terracotta. Philippa of Hainault



Figure 29. Photograph. Re-photographed from Windsor Castle Inventory of Busts 1875
(Inventory 182) p.199) Michael Rysbrack. King Alfred



Figure 30. Photograph. Re-photographed from Windsor Castle Inventory of Busts 1875
(Inventory 192. p.177) Michael Rysbrack. Edward III



Figure 31. Photograph. Re-photographed from Windsor Castle Inventory of Busts 1875
(Inventory 196. p.181) Michael Rysbrack. Henry V



Figure 32. Photograph. Re-photographed from Windsor Castle Inventory of Busts 1875.
(Inventory 200. p.182) Michael Rysbrack. Terracotta. Catherine of Valois



Figure 33. Photograph. Re-photographed from Windsor Castle Inventory of Busts 1875 (Inventory 202, p. 184) Michael Rysbrack. Henry VII



Figure 34. Photograph. Re-photographed from Windsor Castle Inventory of Busts 1875
(Inventory 197. p.181) Michael Rysbrack. Elizabeth of York



Figure 35. Photograph. Re-photographed from Windsor Castle Inventory of Busts 1875 (Inventory 201, p.184) Michael Rysbrack. Henry Prince of Wales



Figure 36. Studio of Sir Godfrey Kneller. Sir Isaac Newton. 1689. Oil on canvas.
1257x1016mm. The Royal Collection. RCIN 406080



Figure 37. After Charles Jervas. Samuel Clarke. 1729. Oil on canvas. 927x1029mm. The Royal Collection. RCIN 403011



Figure 38. Possibly by Charles Jervas after Michael Dahl. William Wollaston. 1730. Oil on canvas. 1267x1016mm. The Royal Collection. RCIN 403014



Figure 39. Johann Kerseboom. Robert Boyle. Oil on Canvas. 1261x1029mm. The Royal Collection. OM 332



Figure 40. After Sir Godfrey Kneller. John Locke. 1704. Oil on canvas. 1270x1026mm. The Royal Collection. OM 377. RCIN 402818

Figure 41. William Kent. Britomart and Glaucé meet Merlin. Sketch design. Pen, ink and wash. c1747. 298x146mm. Illustration in Edmund Spenser *The Faerie Queene*. Book III, Canto III, Stanza I. London. 1751. (Vol II, Plate 21. p.45) Victoria and Albert Museum. E886.1928



Figure 42. William Kent. Stage setting with Arcadian hermitage. 1730. Pen, ink and wash.
301mmx460mm. Sir John Soane's Museum. Adam Vol. 56/25



Figure 43. 'The Chief Druid from a statue' from Henry Rowland's *Mona Antiqua Restaurata*
Dublin, 1723

Figure 44. Probably Mrs Goldsmith. Waxworks. William III and Mary II.. c1725.
Westminster Abbey



Figure 45. Mrs Goldsmith. Waxwork. Frances, Duchess of Richmond and Lennox. 1702.
Westminster Abbey



Figure 46. Waxwork. Catherine, Duchess of Buckingham. 1735-1736. Westminster Abbey



Figure 47. Possibly John Bushnell. Waxwork. Charles II. 1685. Westminster Abbey



Figure 48. Jean de Wespín called il Tabacchetti. Adam and Eve. 1597-1598. Sacra Monte. Varallo. Italy



Figure 49. Antoine Benoist. Waxwork. Queen Sophie-Amalie of Denmark. 1670. De Dansk Kronologiske Samling på Rosenborg. Copenhagen. Denmark



Figure 50. Waxwork. Augustus the Strong, c1697. Ansstellung des Historischen Museums im Dresdner Schloss. Dresden. Germany



Figure 51. Allen Bathurst, 1st Earl Bathurst. Alfred's Hall. 1721. Cirencester Park



Figure 52. Charles Bridgeman. Turf amphitheatre. c1725. For the Duke of Newcastle.
Claremont. Surrey



Figure 53. Charles Bridgeman. Turf amphitheatre. c1725. For Lord Orkney. Cliveden. Buckinghamshire



Figure 54. William Kent. The Hermitage. 1731. Stowe. Buckinghamshire



Figure 55. Michael Rysbrack. Queen Elizabeth I. 1729-1730. Made for the Temple of Fame, but later moved to the Temple of British Worthies. Stowe. Buckinghamshire



Figure 56. Jernegan's Lottery Medal. Bronze. 1736. dia. 50mm. Private Collection

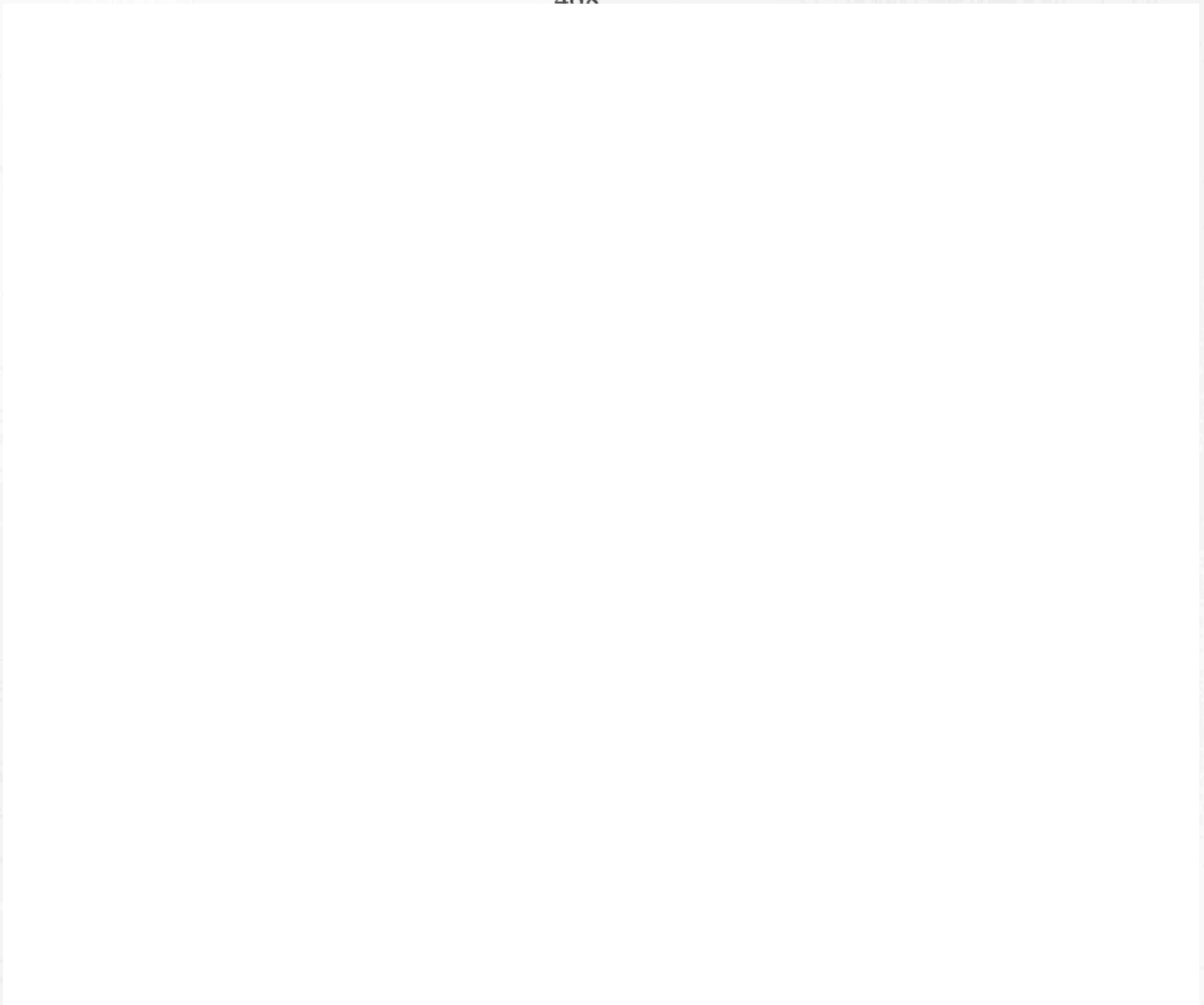


Figure 57. Paul Decker. 'Winter Hermitage'. From *Gothic Architecture Decorated*. London.
1746



Figure 58. Hermitage. Brocklesby Park. Lincolnshire. Mid 18th century

Figure 59. George Vertue 1743. Hanging plan. East wall, left side. Queen Caroline's picture closet. From W.A Bathoe *A Catalogue of Pictures belonging to King James II (copied from a ms. In the Library of the Earl of Oxford) to which is appended A Catalogue of the Pictures, Drawings, Limnings, Enamels, Models in wax and Ivory Carvings etc at Kensington in Queen Caroline's Closet next the State Bedchamber* London 1758.

Figure 60. George Vertue 1743. Hanging plan. East wall, right side and south wall. Queen Caroline's picture closet. From W.A Bathoe *A Catalogue of Pictures belonging to King James II (copied from a ms. In the Library of the Earl of Oxford) to which is appended A Catalogue of the Pictures, Drawings, Limnings, Enamels, Models in wax and Ivory Carvings etc at Kensington in Queen Caroline's Closet next the State Bedchamber* London 1758.

Figure 61. George Vertue 1743. Hanging plan. West wall, left side. Queen Caroline's picture closet. From W.A Bathoe *A Catalogue of Pictures belonging to King James II (copied from a ms. In the Library of the Earl of Oxford) to which is appended A Catalogue of the Pictures, Drawings, Limnings, Enamels, Models in wax and Ivory Carvings etc at Kensington in Queen Caroline's Closet next the State Bedchamber* London 1758.

Figure 62. George Vertue 1743. Hanging plan. West wall, right side and north wall. Queen Caroline's picture closet. From W.A Bathoe *A Catalogue of Pictures belonging to King James II (copied from a ms. In the Library of the Earl of Oxford) to which is appended A Catalogue of the Pictures, Drawings, Limnings, Enamels, Models in wax and Ivory Carvings etc at Kensington in Queen Caroline's Closet next the State Bedchamber* London 1758.



Figure 63. Isaac Oliver. Anne of Denmark. Watercolour on vellum laid on playing card. c1611. 53x42mm. The Royal Collection. RCIN 420041

Figure 64. Charles Boyl. Charles Boyl, c.1611. Watercolour on vellum laid on playing card. c1611. 53x42mm. The Royal Collection. RCIN 420041



Figure 64. Charles Boit. Queen Anne and Prince George of Denmark. Enamel. 1706.
254x184mm. The Royal Collection. RCIN 421497



Figure 65. Hans Holbein the younger. Sir Henry Guildford. 1527. Black, white and coloured chalks with some pen and ink. 383x294mm. RL 12266



Figure 66. Hans Holbein the younger. Margaret, Lady Elliot. c1532-1534. Black and coloured chalks, white body-colour and black ink on pink prepared paper. 273x208mm. The Royal Collection. RL 12204



Figure 67. Hans Holbein the younger. Mr William Restimer. c1532-1533. Black, white and coloured chalk with metalpoint overdrawing on pink prepared paper. 290x210mm. The Royal Collection. RL 12257



Figure 68. After Hans Holbein the younger. Portrait of the artist. c1700. Oil on canvas.
768x648mm. The Royal Collection. OM 53. RCIN 406124



Figure 69. Anon. Elizabeth I as princess. c1546. Oil on panel. 1089x816mm. The Royal Collection. OM45



Figure 70. Hans Holbein the younger. Mr William Restimer. Oil on panel. 464x337mm. The Royal Collection. OM 31



Figure 71. Samuel Cooper. Frances Stuart, Duchess of Richmond. Watercolour on vellum laid on card with gessoed back. c1660-1664. 124xx99mm. The Royal Collection. RCIN 420085



Figure 72. Samuel Cooper. Barbara Villiers, Duchess of Cleveland. Watercolour on vellum laid on card with gesso back. c1660x1664. 123x99mm. The Royal Collection. RCIN 420109

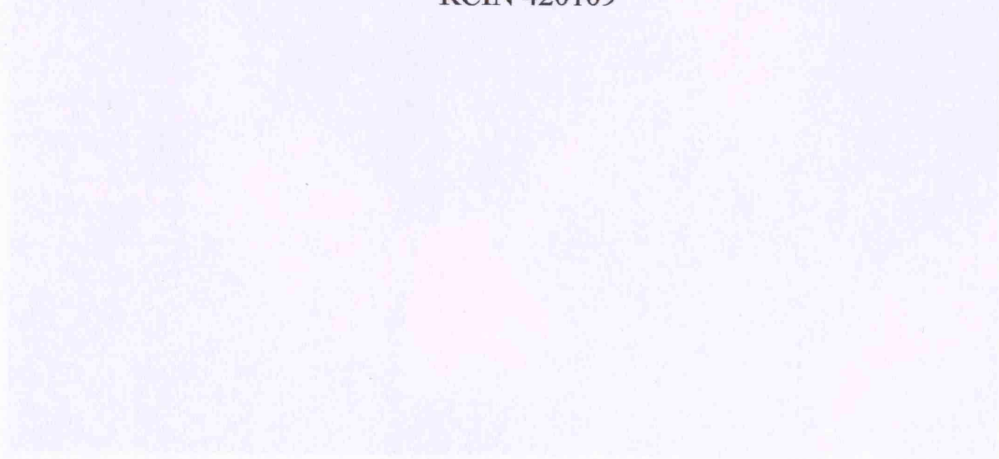


Figure 73. Samuel Cooper. Barbara Villiers, Duchess of Cleveland. Watercolour on vellum laid on card with gesso back. c1660x1664. 123x99mm. The Royal Collection. RCIN 420109



Figure 73. Hans Holbein the younger. Sir Henry Guildford. 1527. Oil on panel. 826x664mm.
The Royal Collection OM 28



Figure 74. James Stephanoff. The Queen's Gallery, Kensington Palace. Watercolour.
c1815. 197x254mm. The Royal Collection. RCIN 922155

Figure 74. James Stephanoff. The Queen's Gallery, Kensington Palace. Watercolour.
c1815. 197x254mm. The Royal Collection. RCIN 922155



Figure 75. George Vertue. Edward IV. 'From an antient Painting in the Royal Collection now at Kensington Palace'. 1732. Line engraving. 292x189mm. National Portrait Gallery D19137



Figure 76. George Vertue. Richard III 'From an antient original painting on board at Kensington Palace'. 1732. Line engraving. 296x169mm. National Portrait Gallery D20033



Figure 77. George Vertue. Alfred the Great. 1733. Line engraving. 184x108mm. National Portrait Gallery D8576



Figure 78. William Hogarth. Miss Mary Edwards. 1742. Oil on canvas. 1263x1012mm.
Henry Clay Frick bequest. Frick Collection. New York. 1914.1.75



Figure 79. Dorothy Countess of Burlington. Pencil. Queen Caroline on her death bed, 1737. 145x106mm. Chatsworth. Kent/Burlington albums. Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement. 26/69/70



Figure 80. Livinus de Vogelaare. Memorial to Lord Darnley. 1567-1568. 1321x2242mm.
The Royal Collection. OM 90

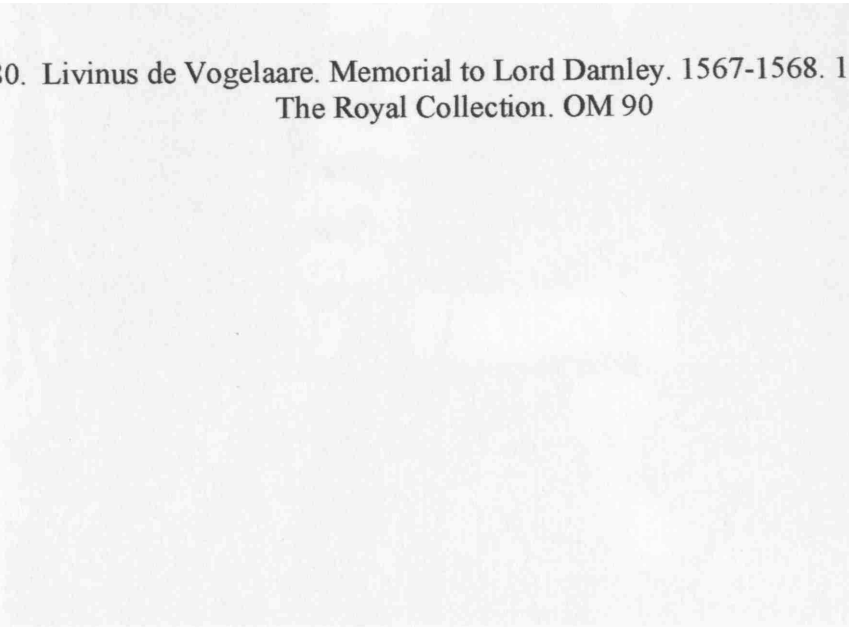


Figure 81. Rutilandus. Queen Elizabeth of 1557. Oil on canvas. The Royal Collection.
The Royal Collection. OM 90



Figure 81. Studio of Charles Jervas. Queen Caroline. c1727. Oil on canvas. 2185x1276mm.
The National Portrait Gallery. 369



Figure 82. Christian Friedrich Zinke. Queen Caroline. 1727. Enamel. 48x38mm. The Royal Collection. RCIN 421820



Figure 83. Jacopo Anigoni. Queen Caroline. Oil on canvas. 1735. 2439x1524mm.
The National Portrait Gallery. 4332

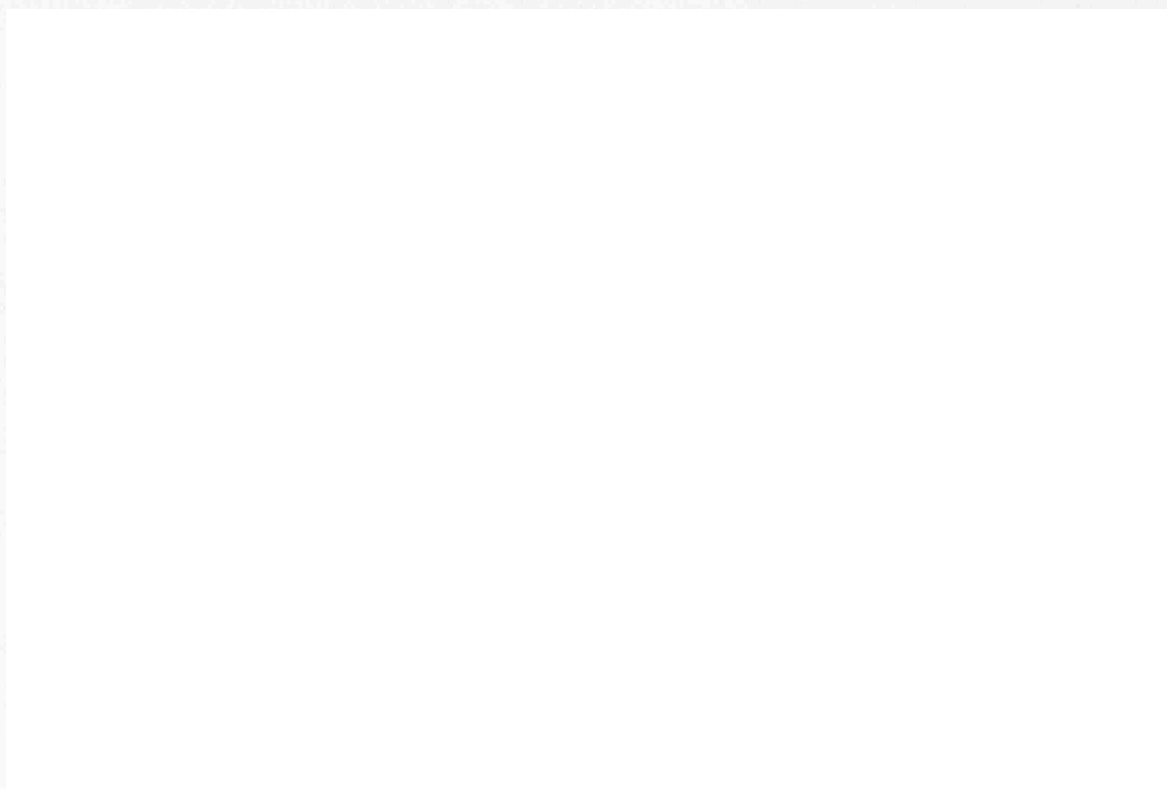


Figure 84. William Kent. Battle of Agincourt. c1730-1731. Oil on canvas. 819x1226mm. The Royal Collection. OM 505. RCIN 402901

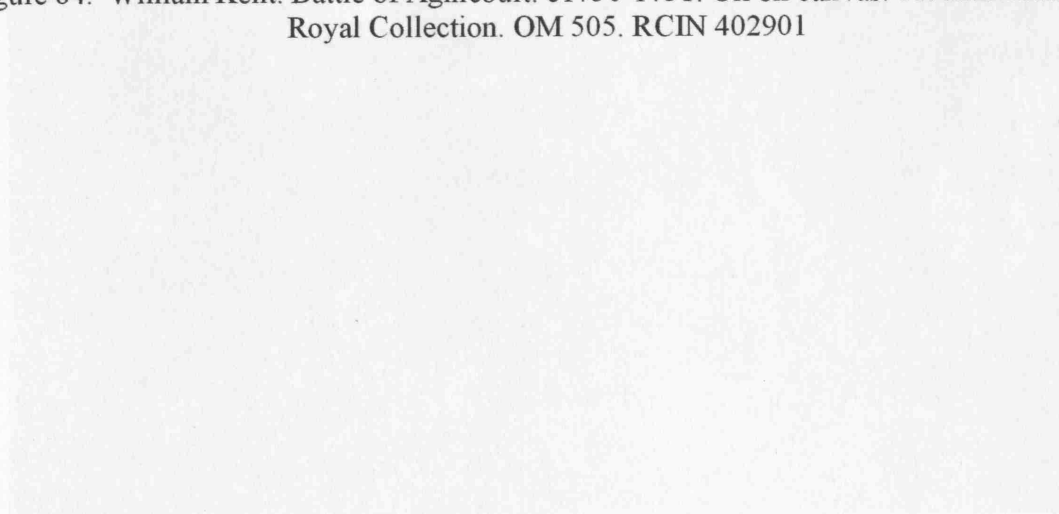


Figure 85. William Kent. Battle of Agincourt. c1730-1731. Oil on canvas. 819x1226mm. The Royal Collection. OM 505. RCIN 402901



Figure 85. William Kent. The Meeting between Henry V and the Queen of France. c1730-1731. Oil on canvas. 762x610mm. The Royal Collection. OM 506



Figure 86. William Kent. The Marriage of Henry V. c1730-1731. Oil on canvas. 762x610mm.
The Royal Collection. OM 507. RCIN 402900

Figure 87. J Rigaud after William Kent. Etching. *Nuptias Ceremoniales inter Annam....et Gulielmum Principem Arausionnem....* Marriage of Anne, Princess Royal and William, Prince of Orange in the Chapel of St James's as decorated by William Kent, on 14 March, 1734. 421x272mm. The British Museum. Y.5.75. PRN PPA97419



Figure 88. William Hogarth. The Family of George II. 1731-1732. Oil on canvas.
638x775mm. The Royal Collection. OM 559



Figure 89. William Hogarth. The Family of George II. c.1732. 620x740mm. National Gallery of Ireland. NGI 126



Figure 90. Filippo Lauri. The Rest on the Flight into Egypt. Oil on canvas. c1670. 244x318mm.
Royal Collection. ML 532



Figure 91. Carlo Marratti. The Annunciation. Oil on canvas. c1690. 676x495mm. The Royal Collection. ML 539



Figure 92. Anon. Edward III. c1550. Oil on panel. 578x441mm. The Royal Collection. OM 1.
RCIN 402708



Figure 93. Anon. Henry V. c1550. Oil on panel. 575x432mm. The Royal Collection. OM 7.
RCIN 404740



Figure 94. German School. William the Younger, Duke of Brunswick Lüneburg. Watercolour on vellum. c1595. 70x56mm. The Royal Collection. RCIN 420439



Figure 95. German School. Bernard I, Duke of Brunswick Lüneburg, d.1434.
Seventeenth century. 70x59mm. The Royal Collection. RCIN 420423



Figure 96. Caroline of Hanover after Philip Mercier. c1740. A shepherd and shepherdess.
Oil on canvas. 1220x725mm. Collection of Lord Neidpath. Stanway House.
Gloucestershire

Figure 97. Mary of Hanover. Landscape. 1733. Black chalk. Schloss Fasanerie. Fulda.
Hesse. Germany

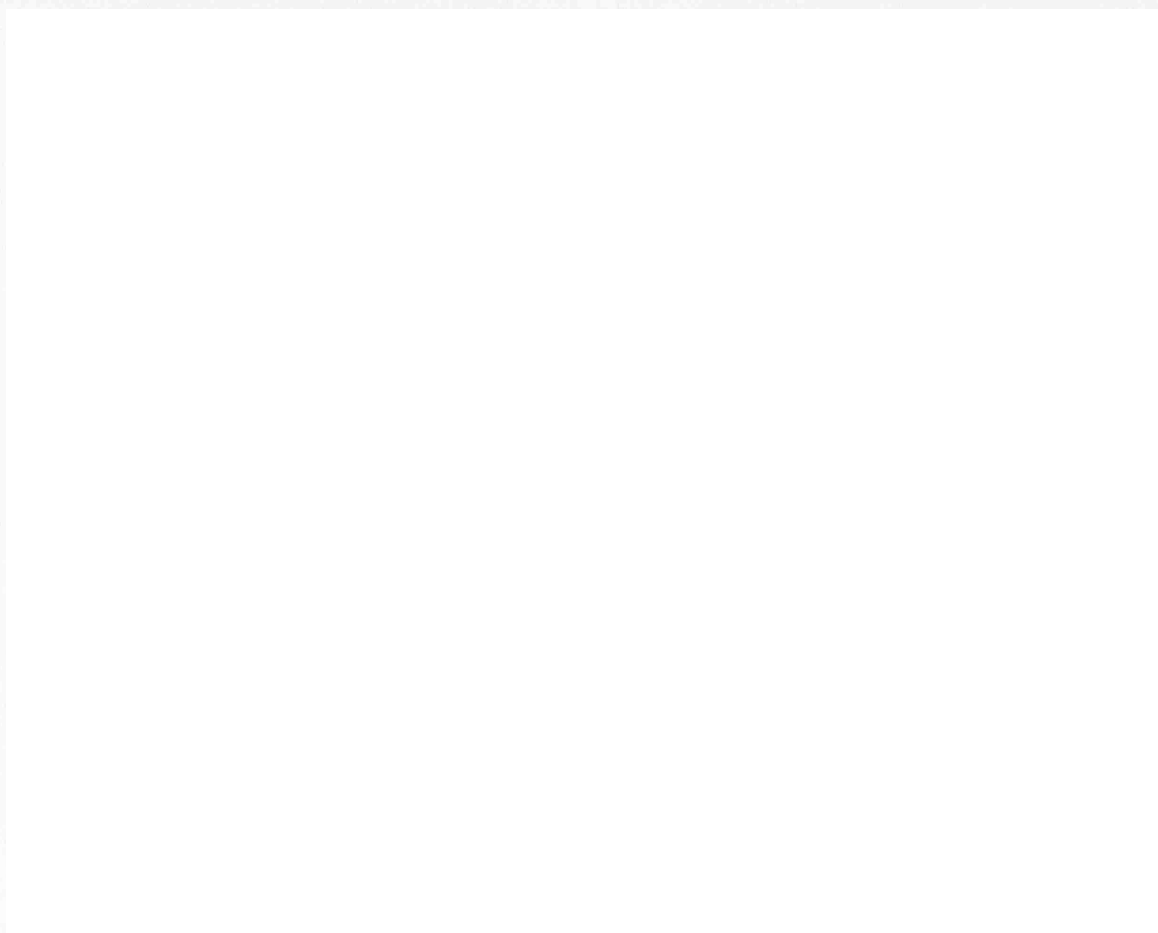


Figure 98. Mary of Hanover. Louisa of Hanover in the character of Spring.
Watercolour on ivory. c1736. 66mm diameter. The Royal Collection. RCIN 420900



Figure 99. Anne of Hanover. Self portrait. c1740. Oil on canvas. 890x760mm. The Royal Collection. The Hague. The Netherlands



Figure 100. Danish School. Sophia Amalia, wife of Frederick III, King of Denmark. Watercolour on vellum. c1670-1680. 71x59mm. The Royal Collection. RCIN 420480



Figure 101. Collector's cabinet. c1735.h1253xw2075xd427mm. The Royal Collection
RCIN 71457



Figure 102. Collector's cabinet. Detail of interior. The Royal Collection RCIM 71457



Figure 103. Collector's cabinet. Detail of interior. The Royal Collection RCIM 71457



Figure 104. Collector's cabinet. Detail of carved reliefs. The Royal Collection RCIM 71457



Figure 105. Michael Rysbrack. Inigo Jones. 2nd quarter 18th century. Marble. Height excluding base 496mm. Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement

Figure 104. Michael Rysbrack. Inigo Jones. 2nd quarter 18th century. Marble. Height excluding base 496mm. Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement



Figure 106. Michael Rysbrack. Andrea Palladio. 2nd quarter 18th century. Marble. Height 508mm. Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement



Figure 107. Cameo. Onyx with gilt copper mount with profile portrait of the Emperor Claudius. Broken. Roman. 43-45. 19x146mm. The Royal Collection. RCIN 65238



Figure 108. Cameo. Sardonyx set in gold mount with claws representing the head and shoulders of Queen Elizabeth I. Probably English c1575-1585. The mount early 18th century. 67x55mm. The Royal Collection. RCIN 65186



Figure 109. Cameo. Agate set in gold mount with head and shoulders of Queen Elizabeth I. Probably English. c1570-1580. 395x315mm. The Royal Collection. RCIN 65187



Figure 110 Cameo. Onyx in closed gold mount representing a lady possibly Mary, Queen of Scots in three quarters profile with a veil. English. c1560. 185x150mm. The Royal Collection. RCIN 65198



Figure 111. Pendant with cameos. Enamelled gold with thirteen cameo hardstones. French. Late 17th- early 18th century. 125x89mm. The Royal Collection. RCIN 65256



Figure 112. Ivory and gold egg decorated with enamels and precious stones. c1715-1720.
De Dansk Kronologiske Samling på Rosenborg. Copenhagen. Denmark. Mus.no.10.305



Figure 113. Ivory and gold egg decorated with enamels and precious stones. c1715-1720.
Detail. De Dansk Kronologiske Samling på Rosenborg. Copenhagen. Denmark.
Mus.no.10.305



Figure 114. Ivory and gold egg decorated with enamels and precious stones. c1715-1720.
Detail. De Dansk Kronologiske Samling på Rosenborg. Copenhagen. Denmark.
Mus.no.10.305



Figure 115. Ivory and gold egg decorated with enamels and precious stones. c1715-1720.
Detail. De Dansk Kronologiske Samling på Rosenborg, Copenhagen, Denmark.
Mus.no.10.305



Figure 116. Ivory and gold egg decorated with enamels and precious stones. c1715-1720.
Detail. De Dansk Kronologiske Samling på Rosenborg. Copenhagen. Denmark.
Mus.no.10.305



Figure 117. Ivory and gold egg decorated with enamels and precious stones. c1715-1720.
Detail. De Dansk Kronologiske Samling på Rosenborg, Copenhagen, Denmark.
Mus.no.10.305



Figure 118. Ivory and gold egg decorated with enamels and precious stones. c1715-1720.
Detail. De Dansk Kronologiske Samling på Rosenborg, Copenhagen, Denmark.
Mus.no.10.305



Figure 119. Orrery. Thomas Wright. 1733. The Science Museum 1927.1659



Figure 120. Cameo. Sardonyx set on open gold mount with portraits of Henry VIII and Prince Edward. English. Early 18th century. 57x78mm. The Royal Collection. RCIN 65189



Figure 121. Cameo. Sardonyx set in open gold mount with corded rim, with a three quarter profile portrait of Henry VIII. Early 18th century. 400x385mm. The Royal Collection. RCIN 65190



Figure 122. James Gibb. Folly arch. c1725. For Sir Jeremy Sambrook. Gubbins.
Hertfordshire

Figure 123. Cameo. Agate in silver gilt mount with a design of the adoration of the Magi.
North Italian. 16th century. 35x65mm. The Royal Collection. RCIN 65175



Figure 124. Hat Badge. Gold, cornelian, amethyst and rubies with a female head with elaborate turban in profile to right. French and English 1550-1560. 48x35mm. The Royal Collection.
RCIN 65249



Figure 125. Bust of Hercules. Agate with gilt socle. North Italian. Second half 16th century. 47x38x30mm. The Royal Collection. RCIN 65740



Figure 126. John Rocque. North front of Richmond Lodge showing library wing. Detail from 'An Exact Plan of the Royal Palace and Gardens at Richmond', 1754. BL. Maps K. Top.41.16.h



Figure 127. Bookcase. c1730-1740. h2650xw1490xd750mm. The Royal Collection. RCIN
33355



Figure 128. Michael Rysbrack. Queen Caroline. Terracotta. 1739. h600xw530xd360. The Royal Collection RCIN 1411



Figure 129. Michael Rysbrack. George II. Terracotta. 1738. h576xw520xd310mm. The Royal Collection RCIN 1412



Figure 130. Michael Rysbrack. Queen Caroline. Marble. 1742. The Royal Collection. RCIN 31317



Figure 131. Michael Rysbrack. George II. Marble. 1742. h700xw555xd325mm. The Royal Collection. RCIN 31322